

GAI IULI CAESARIS

COMMENTARIORUM

DE BELLO CIVILI

LIBER PRIMUS

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WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND MAPS

BY

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PREFACE.

IN preparing this book I have made constant use of the editions of Nipperdey (1847), Kraner revised by F. Hofmann[1], ed. 9 (1885), Moberley (1888), Dinter (1888), Paul (1889), E. Hoffmann (1890). But no existing edition can rank in importance with the great work of M. le Colonel Stoffel entitled 'Histoire de Jules César, Guerre Civile,' which continues the late Emperor Napoleon's work on the Gallic War. This book with its fine atlas has been of the greatest use to me. Another book of great value, though in a different way, is the 'Lexicon Caesarianum' of H. Meusel, not yet completed, probably the most elaborate and comprehensive dictionary of a single author ever published. Merguet's 'Lexicon zu den Schriften Cäsar's und seiner Fortsetzer,' compiled on a simpler plan, is also extremely useful, and has the merit of taking into account the three treatises usually included in editions of Caesar[2]. Among other books that I have had occasion to consult I may mention in particular, General August von Göler's Der Bürgerkrieg zwischen Cäsar und Pompeius, R. Schneider's Die Schlacht bei Ilerda, H. Nissen's Der Ausbruch des Bürgerkriegs, which appeared in Von Sybel's Historische Zeitschrift XLIV (1880) and XLVI (1881), Mommsen's

[1] Referred to by me as KH.

[2] There is another large dictionary to Caesar in course of publication by Menge and Preuss.

Die Rechtsfrage zwischen Cäsar und dem Senate, Lange's Römische Alterthümer, H. F. Pelham's article 'Rome' in the Encyclopaedia Britannica. To these I may now add Prof. Tyrrell's interesting sketch of the political history of this period in the Introduction to the third volume of his edition of Cicero's Letters. To Dr J. S. Reid I am much indebted for his kindness in reading through a portion of my notes and sending me many useful additions and corrections. I only regret that owing to pressure of time I was not able to submit to him the notes on more than 40 chapters.

I may mention that in the division of the chapters into sections I have followed the arrangement of Nipperdey[1], which is also adopted by Paul and by Meusel in his Lexicon. The fact that Meusel has adopted it in a work the utility of which depends so much on facility of reference should make it incumbent on all future editors to follow the same distribution, even though it may not be in all respects as satisfactory as one could wish.

Four maps or plans accompany this edition. Two of them, the plan of Brundisium and the map of the Segre, are outlined, without details, from those given in Stoffel's Atlas.

I have added an Introduction, the object of which is merely to give a brief sketch of the events that led up to the Civil War. In an appendix will be found a list of the more important variations of the MSS, and of some of the alterations of the text that have been proposed.

A. G. PESKETT.

MAGDALENE COLLEGE,

13 *October*, 1890.

[1] Whether originating with him or not I do not know.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *The Civil War an episode in a larger struggle.*

TO be rightly understood, the war between Caesar and Pompey must be regarded as an episode in the long century of civil dissension that began with the tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus in 133, and ended with the battle of Actium in 31, when Augustus was established as undisputed master of the Roman world. Without some brief historical retrospect it would be as difficult to discover the motives and aims of the two great rivals, and to realise the hopes and fears that influenced their followers, as it would be for one who knew nothing of the history of England before Charles I. to appreciate the character of the struggle between Cromwell and the English monarchy. The state of the Roman Empire at the time of Tiberius Gracchus will form a convenient starting-point for such a retrospect.

§ 2. *Rome in the second century* B.C.

In the middle of the second century a series of successful wars had made Rome supreme on the shores of the Mediterranean. The year 146 saw the final destruction of Carthage and the subjugation of Greece. Spain and Illyricum were already Roman provinces. But though increasing in military strength and outward growth the state began to show signs of disorganisation within. By persistent efforts the Plebs had gained

access to most of the higher offices of state, and as the possession of these offices conferred nobility a new order of nobles had arisen, who became in time as exclusive as the old patricians, and by their numbers and wealth succeeded in concentrating in their own hands all the powers of government. The senate, which was chiefly composed of the new nobility, had now virtually absorbed most of the functions of the popular assemblies and had become the ruling power in the state. The oligarchy thus created, though exerting itself to the utmost to advance the bounds of the empire, had in view rather its own aggrandisement than the common welfare of the people. Increased luxury, resulting from foreign conquest, and the spread of Greek refinement were fast banishing the old Roman simplicity of life, and every year the interval between the rich and the poor was growing wider. An idle mob, the bane of all large cities, began to infest the streets of the capital, while in the country, the farming class, which in every state is one of the main elements of stability, was being either crowded out by the growth of large estates worked by gangs of slaves, or ruined, as so many of the same class have lately been among ourselves, by the importation of cheap foreign corn. Now and then farsighted men saw and tried to remedy the evils that were growing up on all sides, and among these reformers a foremost place must be assigned to the Gracchi.

§ 3. *The Gracchi.*

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus as tribune in 133 proposed a series of measures which had for their object to limit the accumulation of land in a few hands and to reinforce the small proprietors. He was strongly opposed by the senate, the representative of the dominant oligarchy, and riots ensued, in one of which Gracchus was slain. Ten years later his brother Gaius Gracchus took up the task anew, but again the attempt was unsuccessful in spite of the fact that Gaius profiting by the experience of Tiberius endeavoured to establish his reforms on a wider basis. Two of his measures merit particular attention as fraught with consequences for the future. He instituted the

pernicious practice of giving periodical grants of corn at a nominal price to the city mob, thus attracting the idle and lawless to the capital; and secondly, he gave a definite status to the so-called equestrian order, consisting chiefly of the well-to-do business men, by giving them judicial functions, in order that they might counterbalance the preponderating influence of the senate.

§ 4. *The supremacy of Gaius Marius.*

A few years after the death of Gaius Gracchus the position of the popular party was strengthened by the brilliant victories in Africa and Gaul of Gaius Marius, who by sympathy and descent was an opponent of the senatorial oligarchy. His repeated tenure of the consulship accustomed the minds of men to the supremacy of a popular leader, and he may thus be regarded as a forerunner of Caesar. Under his auspices further attempts at reform were made by the tribune Saturninus, but again the scale was turned in favour of the oligarchy, and the reformer met with the fate of his predecessors.

§ 5. *M. Livius Drusus.*

The next champion of the distressed commons was M. Livius Drusus, tribune in 91, who sought to strengthen his position by giving ear to the persistent demands of the Italian allied communities for admission to the Roman franchise. In all the recent wars they had borne a conspicuous part, and for some time they had been claiming the Roman citizenship as a reward for their fidelity. But the claim was vehemently opposed by the governing classes at Rome, and Drusus fell, another victim to the narrow prejudices of the senate, and the selfishness of the equites, whom he had alienated by his projected reform of the law courts.

§ 6. *The Social War.*

Enraged at the murder of their champion the Italians broke out in open revolt, and for two years, 90 and 89, the so-called social

war taxed all the energies of the state. A memorable incident of this war was the attempt of the Italians to establish the town of Corfinium in Umbria as a rival capital to Rome. Though the insurgents were defeated, a partial admission to the franchise rewarded their heroism but did not appease their discontent.

§ 7. *P. Sulpicius Rufus.*

An attempt to satisfy their claims for a more satisfactory incorporation in the Roman burgess body was now made by Marius and by P. Sulpicius Rufus, tribune in 88. To prevent their proposals from being put to the vote the consuls proclaimed a suspension of public business. Sulpicius and his armed gangs drove the consuls from the forum, and the laws were carried. One of the new enactments was that the conduct of the war with Mithradates which had recently begun should be entrusted to the now aged Marius.

§ 8. *L. Cornelius Sulla.*

But the consul, L. Cornelius Sulla, was not the man to be thus summarily set aside. Bold, ambitious, a skilful soldier and an astute politician, he now determined on a decisive stroke. Summoning his legions he advanced on the capital, and after a brief struggle entered Rome in triumph. "Thus," as Mommsen says, "the first military intervention in civil feuds had fully demonstrated, not only that the political struggles had reached the point at which nothing save open and direct force proves decisive, but also that the power of the bludgeon was of no avail against the power of the sword." The Sulpician laws were at once set aside, and the supremacy of Sulla was established. He made it his chief aim to crush the rising democracy by ruthless proscriptions, by increasing the power of the senate, by bringing the magistrates more under senatorial control, by abridging the competence of the tribunes, and by putting the military forces of the republic into the position of a professional standing army. A supremacy based on such violent and reactionary methods was not likely to be enduring, and in a few years the Sullan constitution was overthrown.

§ 9. *Gneus Pompeius and the reversal of the Sullan policy.*

M. Lepidus headed the revival of the popular party in Rome, and in Spain Q. Sertorius as the leader of the emigrant democrats stirred up a rebellion which was not subdued for three years. The general who was finally successful in crushing the revolt was Gneus Pompeius, who had been for some time known as a brave and skilful officer and now became the leading man in the state. He received the proconsular command in Spain before he had reached the age of 30, and therefore before he had held the ordinary state offices. He had never been a hearty adherent of Sulla, and now on his return from Spain being desirous of the honour of a triumph, to which he was not legally entitled, he definitely broke with the Sullan party and espoused the cause of the opposition. By their aid he gained the consulship and a triumph. Thus were the Sullan regulations respecting the tenure of the different magistracies summarily set aside.

Pompey's colleague in the consulship was M. Crassus, the great capitalist, who had recently quelled the rising of the slaves under Spartacus, and who, like Pompey, saw his best chance of political power in espousing the cause of democracy. Under these two leaders the opposition succeeded in reversing much of the policy of Sulla. The tribunes were reinstated in their ancient prerogatives, and for the corrupt senatorial jury courts were substituted mixed courts of senators, equites and tribuni aerarii. But though the rule of the senate was weakened, and the popular cause again in the ascendant, the old republic was practically dead, and the substance of power lay in the hands of the strongest military leader. That position was now held by Pompey. But Pompey was not fitted by nature or inclination to be a democratic leader, and we accordingly find him becoming in time a closer ally of the moderate senatorial party, who looked to him as the champion of order. He was entrusted with extraordinary powers to prosecute the war against the pirates who were infesting the shores of the Mediterranean, and against Mithradates, the great Eastern king, whose armies

perpetually menaced the Roman possessions in Asia. That a power such as Pompey's, not based on any hereditary right, nor consolidated by time, nor indeed supported by the loyal adherence of a united people, should be exposed to the plots of an ambitious rival was only natural. Such a rival now arose in the person of Caesar, the greatest of the Romans.

§ 10. *Gaius Iulius Caesar.*

Born probably in 102, of a noble family, connected by birth with Marius and by marriage with Cinna, Gaius Julius Caesar had passed an adventurous youth and had won the hearts of the Roman people by his boundless liberality, his fascinating address and his reckless audacity. But these showy qualities concealed a resolute patience and fixity of purpose that knew how to bide its time. The long absence of Pompey in the East from 67 to 62 gave him scope for increasing his popularity and maturing his plans. He became aedile in 65, and in 63 he was elected Pontifex Maximus.

§ 11. *The conspiracy of Catiline.*

In the same year, 63, the conspiracy of Catiline broke out, only to be promptly suppressed by the energy of the consul Cicero. This conspiracy "was not the work of the popular party, and still less was it an unselfish attempt at reform[1];" it was rather the attempt of a desperate adventurer to retrieve his position by inciting the disaffected mob to a general rising. How far Caesar was implicated in it cannot now be known, but it is probable that he saw in the widespread popular discontent an opening for his own ambitious schemes, and that he was ready, if the conspiracy should gain ground, to shape the issue to suit his own ends. At the trial he pleaded for the life of the prisoners but his intervention was in vain. Some of the leading conspirators were executed, the rest including Catiline himself shortly after fell in battle, and tranquillity was for a time restored to Italy.

[1] Pelham: article 'Rome,' in 'Encyclopaedia Britannica.'

§ 12. *Coalition of Pompey and Caesar.*

In 62 Caesar held the office of praetor. In 61 Pompey, who had now returned to Rome, celebrated his third triumph, while Caesar was absent as governor of Hispania Ulterior. On his return from Spain the following year he found a growing state of tension between Pompey and the optimates, that is, the well-to-do classes, who having a stake in the country were desirous of maintaining the republican constitution, and were alike opposed on the one hand to the excesses of an unbridled democracy and on the other to the threatened despotism of a military leader. Pompey's arrogant pretensions were beginning to estrange men of this character, and it seems to have occurred both to him and to Caesar that by forming a coalition they would strengthen their respective positions. Each hoped to use the resources of the other for his own purposes. Crassus, whose great wealth and importance in the commercial world rather than any singular ability made him a power in the state, was necessary to the stability of the coalition, and was accordingly admitted to the partnership. Thus was formed the so-called first triumvirate. The political alliance was cemented by the marriage of Pompey to Caesar's daughter Julia. Each member of the alliance gained his immediate objects. Caesar attained the consulship for 59 and won great popularity by carrying some agrarian reforms in spite of the opposition of the optimates; Crassus and the men of business were gratified by the remission of an unfavourable contract into which the tax-farmers had entered and from which they had long sought release; Pompey gained from the senate the long-delayed ratification of his political measures in Asia.

§ 13. *Caesar in Gaul.*

It was now arranged that Caesar should have the governorship of Gallia Cisalpina, Gallia Narbonensis and Illyricum for five years. By this means he would be able, as he no doubt foresaw, to train, in a series of campaigns against the wild tribes of Gaul,

an army devoted to his interests and strong enough to cope in case of need with the veteran legions of Pompey. He started for his province in March 58, and at once began the long career of conquest, the details of which are familiar to all readers of the 'Bellum Gallicum.' It may suffice here to say that each winter, when hostilities naturally ceased, he journeyed to the borders of Italy to keep himself in touch with the political movements of the capital and to confer with his adherents. In the spring of 56 he had a conference with Pompey and Crassus at Luca, and the political arrangements of the next few years were doubtless the result of the discussions then held. In the following year by the law of Trebonius the province of Spain was assigned to Pompey and Syria to Crassus, both for five years, and another law prolonged Caesar's tenure of his provincial administration for a second term of five years. Crassus proceeded to his new province, where he soon engaged in war with the Parthians, but Pompey remained in Rome and administered Spain through his legates Afranius and Petreius. It was in this year that Julia, Pompey's wife and Caesar's daughter, died, whereby one of the chief links that bound the two great rivals was severed. Their rivalry was still farther accentuated in 53 by the death of Crassus, who fell in battle with the Parthians. To a superficial observer Pompey must now have seemed the chief figure in the Roman world. He was master of the capital and was elected sole consul for 52.

§ 14. *State of feeling at Rome.*

It may be useful here to consider briefly the general state of feeling at Rome at this time. For this our best guide is the correspondence of Cicero with Atticus and others. Cicero may be regarded as reflecting on the whole the opinions of the moderate optimates, who though nominally partisans of Pompey yet felt almost as much distrust of their leader as they did of his rival, Caesar, the champion of the democratic or popular party. Above all things they desired peace, and to secure it they were willing on occasion to sacrifice a little of their principles. From these we may distinguish those whom Nissen calls the

conservative ultras, impracticable men such as Cato and others, wedded to ancient forms and habits of thought, and unable to accommodate themselves to new views and changing situations. These men were of course bitter opponents of Caesar. A few references to Cicero's letters will help to throw light on the keen political strife which marked the closing years of the Roman republic. Writing in 59 Cicero inveighs bitterly against the triumvirate; a short time ago, he says, it was agreeable to the multitude and harmless, though vexatious, to the Conservatives; now it is hateful to all alike[1]. He considers that the old republic is gone for ever[2]. In 56 and 55 we find him drawing nearer to the triumvirs, as he recognises the impracticability of the optimates. Now, he says, I approve of everything that Pompey does. All freedom of action is gone. We want repose, which our rulers are likely to give us if certain persons (Cato and others) could bring themselves to acquiesce more quietly in their supremacy[3]. In 54 we find him making approaches to Caesar and to Crassus; he remarks that all patronage is in the hands of Caesar[4] In the following year it is clear that Pompey's weakness and vacillation were fast alienating many of his supporters; Cicero calls him *ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum*[5], but for all that he could not bring himself to oppose the triumvirs. The fact is, he says, it is the optimates who have changed, and have abandoned the mass of law-abiding citizens, from which he draws the conclusion that all wise citizens should now change their policy[6]. Signs of the approaching rupture between the two rivals now began to show themselves, and there were frequent rumours of an impending dictatorship. Moderate men like

[1] Att. II. 21, § 1.

[2] *res publica tota periit*, Att. II. 21, § 1; *rem publicam funditus amisimus*, Q. F. I. 2, § 15.

[3] Fam. I. 8, §§ 2—4.

[4] For Crassus cp. Fam. V. 8; for Caesar Q. F. II. 11, § 1; 13, § 1; 14, § 2.

[5] Fam. I. 9, § 2.

[6] See the whole of Fam. I. 9, which contains an elaborate justification of Cicero's political attitude.

Cicero were evidently distracted with anxiety, not knowing to which side to attach themselves. He exhorts the young Curio, of whom he had a high opinion, to fit himself for public life, apparently in the vain hope that he might guide the state through the troubles that threatened it[1]. In 52 he writes that public affairs are getting into such a state that the most fortunate man will be he who can quit the commonwealth with the smallest loss[2]. This, it will be remembered, was the year in which Pompey was elected to the consulship without a colleague, a position which made him practically dictator. Even the stubborn Cato supported the unconstitutional appointment, a striking proof of the want of spirit among the optimates. They had, as it has been said, deliberately effaced themselves.

§ 15. *The constitutional struggle.*

We now come to the constitutional struggle which ushered in the long impending civil war. Caesar had set his heart on the consulship for 48. For this purpose it was necessary for him in the ordinary course of things to canvass the electors in person during the autumn of 49, but on the other hand it was to his interest to retain his proconsular command till the arrival of his successor in Jan. 48, though the command itself actually terminated in March 49, for he knew that in the event of a break between his governorship and the consular office he would be liable to impeachment. He therefore sought the privilege of being allowed to stand for the consulship in his absence. The question of whether this should be granted or not agitated the senate and the popular assemblies for several months. It was first raised in March 52, when a plebiscitum was carried by the tribunes by which Caesar was allowed to stand for the consulship in his absence at the expiration of the usual interval of 10 years from his previous consulship. By this decree it was implied though not distinctly expressed that he was at liberty, in accordance with the usual practice, to retain his provincial governorship, which strictly terminated on 1 March, 49, till the

[1] Fam. II. 5 and 6. [2] Fam. V. 18, § 1.

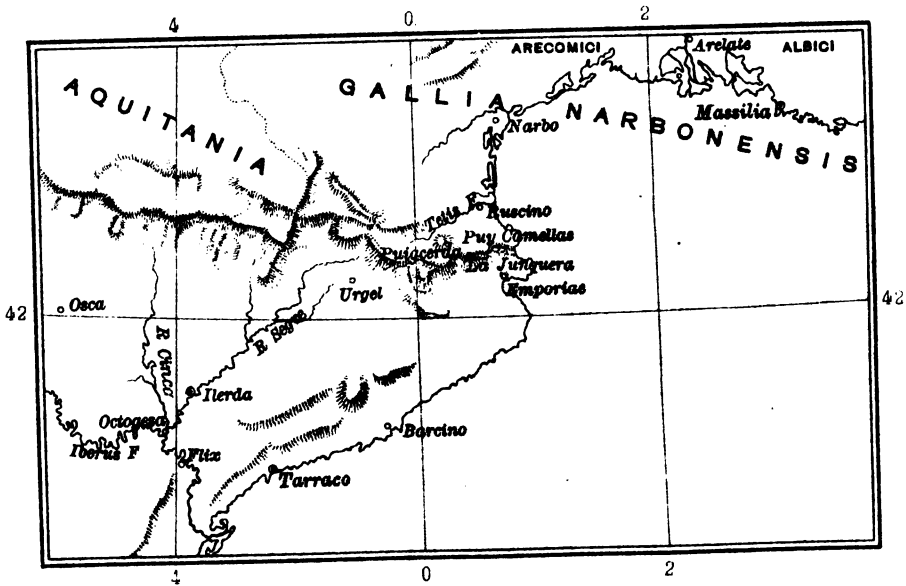
arrival of his successor on 1 Jan. 48; for otherwise what would be the force of the permission to offer himself as a candidate in his absence? Subsequently there was passed the lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum, which enacted (i) that consuls and praetors should not hold provincial appointments till the expiration of five years from their term of office; this would allow of a successor to Caesar being appointed on 1 March, 49[1]: (ii) that in accordance with the old rule no one should be allowed to stand for an office in his absence[2]. It will be observed that this second law was in direct antagonism to the privilege granted to Caesar by the plebiscitum. Pompey's attention was called to the discrepancy, and he thereupon added a clause to his law excepting Caesar from its operation. It is almost incredible that he should thus have recklessly flung away the strong position that his own measure secured him. However it was afterwards argued by the lawyers that the clause had been illegally added and was therefore worthless. In the following year, 51, Caesar sent a request to the senate that his governorship should be prolonged till the end of 49. The request was not entertained at the time, but Caesar's partisans refused to let the matter drop, and it was frequently discussed during the course of the year. On 29 September a proposal was made that the appointment should terminate on 1 March, 49; but this was rejected by a large majority. Finally it was agreed after some discussion that the question of appointing a successor to Caesar should be deferred till 1 March, 50. When the day came the matter was again postponed. The next proposal was that Caesar's tenure of the province should be prolonged to 13 November, 49, but again a settlement of the difficulty was prevented by the opposition of Curio, who had now become a partisan of Caesar. After many other abortive attempts at a compromise it was finally proposed, first that Caesar should give up his province and disband his army, secondly that both generals should disarm simultaneously. A large majority voted in favour of the first proposal; the second

[1] Mommsen, 'Rechtsfrage,' p. 46.

[2] It is not certain whether these were two distinct laws or two chapters of the same law.

proposal was then put in an altered form, that Pompey should disarm; this was rejected by a large majority. It was then again put in its original form, that both generals should disarm simultaneously, and was thereupon carried by the large majority of 370 to 22[1]. The execution of this decree was hindered by the Pompeians, who thereby put themselves in the wrong by resisting the expressed will of the senate. Meanwhile in view of Caesar's threatening attitude on the frontier and the impossibility of a satisfactory settlement of the points at issue, it was felt to be necessary that immediate steps should be taken for the defence of the capital. The task was naturally assigned to Pompey, who began to raise levies and organise the forces of the commonwealth. Curio feeling that war was inevitable fled to Caesar. But Caesar had apparently not yet abandoned all hope of compromise, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that he determined to put the Pompeians as clearly as possible in the wrong. He sent an ultimatum by the hands of Curio, offering to disband his troops if Pompey would do the same. This was brought before the senate on 1 Jan. 49. At this point the history of the Civil War opens. How the last attempt at negotiation failed and the long impending war broke out may be read in Caesar's own narrative.

[1] I have here followed Lange, 'Römische Alterthümer,' III.[2] p. 395 foll., but cp. Nissen, 'Ausbruch,' § 5. It is almost impossible to make one's way with any certainty through the maze of confused and conflicting accounts that have been handed down to us of the debates and divisions in the senate during this critical time.



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I. LITTERIS a Gaio Caesare consulibus redditis, aegre 1
ab his impetratum est summa tribunorum plebis contentione,
ut in senatu recitarentur; ut vero ex litteris ad senatum
referretur, impetrari non potuit. Referunt consules de re 2
publica [in civitate]. L. Lentulus consul senatui reique
publicae se non defuturum pollicetur, si audacter ac fortiter
sententias dicere velint; sin Caesarem respiciant atque eius 3
gratiam sequantur, ut superioribus fecerint temporibus, se
sibi consilium capturum neque senatus auctoritati obtempe-
raturum; habere se quoque ad Caesaris gratiam atque
amicitiam receptum. In eandem sententiam loquitur Scipio: 4
Pompeio esse in animo rei publicae non deesse, si senatus
sequatur; si cunctetur atque agat lenius, nequiquam eius
auxilium, si postea velit, senatum imploraturum.

II. Haec Scipionis oratio, quod senatus in urbe habe- 1
batur Pompeiusque aderat, ex ipsius ore Pompei mitti
videbatur. Dixerat aliquis leniorem sententiam, ut primo 2
M. Marcellus, ingressus in eam orationem, non oportere
ante de ea re ad senatum referri, quam dilectus tota Italia

habiti et exercitus conscripti essent, quo praesidio tuto et
3 libere senatus, quae vellet, decernere auderet; ut M. Calidius, qui censebat, ut Pompeius in suas provincias proficisceretur, ne qua esset armorum causa: timere Caesarem ereptis ab eo duabus legionibus, ne ad eius periculum
4 reservare et retinere eas ad urbem Pompeius videretur; ut M. Rufus, qui sententiam Calidii paucis fere mutatis rebus
5 sequebatur. Hi omnes convicio L. Lentuli consulis correpti exagitabantur. Lentulus sententiam Calidii pronuntiaturum se omnino negavit, Marcellus perterritus conviciis a sua
6 sententia discessit. Sic vocibus consulis, terrore praesentis exercitus, minis amicorum Pompei plerique compulsi inviti et coacti Scipionis sententiam sequuntur: uti ante certam
7 diem Caesar exercitum dimittat; si non faciat, eum ad-
8 versus rem publicam facturum videri. Intercedit M. Antonius, Q. Cassius, tribuni plebis. Refertur confestim de intercessione tribunorum. Dicuntur sententiae graves; ut quisque acerbissime crudelissimeque dixit, ita quam maxime ab inimicis Caesaris collaudatur.

1 III. Misso ad vesperum senatu omnes, qui sunt eius ordinis, a Pompeio evocantur. Laudat Pompeius atque in
2 posterum confirmat, segniores castigat atque incitat. Multi undique ex veteribus Pompei exercitibus spe praemiorum atque ordinum evocantur, multi ex duabus legionibus, quae
3 sunt traditae a Caesare, arcessuntur. Completur urbs et
4 ipsum comitium tribunis, centurionibus, evocatis. Omnes amici consulum, necessarii Pompei atque eorum, qui veteres inimicitias cum Caesare gerebant, in senatum coguntur;
5 quorum vocibus et concursu terrentur infirmiores, dubii confirmantur, plerisque vero libere decernendi potestas
6 eripitur. Pollicetur L. Piso censor, sese iturum ad Caesarem, item L. Roscius praetor, qui de his rebus eum doceant; sex dies ad eam rem conficiendam spatii postulant.

Dicuntur etiam ab non nullis sententiae, ut legati ad 7
Caesarem mittantur, qui voluntatem senatus ei proponant.

IV. Omnibus his resistitur omnibusque oratio consulis, 1
Scipionis, Catonis opponitur. Catonem veteres inimicitiae 2
Caesaris incitant et dolor repulsae. Lentulus aeris alieni
magnitudine et spe exercitus ac provinciarum et regum
appellandorum largitionibus movetur, seque alterum fore
Sullam inter suos gloriatur, ad quem summa imperii redeat.
Scipionem eadem spes provinciae atque exercituum impellit, 3
quos se pro necessitudine partiturum cum Pompeio arbitra-
tur, simul iudiciorum metus, adulatio atque ostentatio sui
et potentium, qui in re publica iudiciisque tum plurimum
pollebant. Ipse Pompeius, ab inimicis Caesaris incitatus 4
et quod neminem dignitate secum exaequari volebat, totum
se ab eius amicitia averterat et cum communibus inimicis
in gratiam redierat, quorum ipse maximam partem illo
affinitatis tempore iniunxerat Caesari; simul infamia dua- 5
rum legionum permotus, quas ab itinere Asiae Syriaeque ad
suam potentiam dominatumque converterat, rem ad arma
deduci studebat.

V. His de causis aguntur omnia raptim atque turbate. 1
Nec docendi Caesaris propinquis eius spatium datur, nec
tribunis plebis sui periculi deprecandi neque etiam extremi
iuris intercessione retinendi, quod L. Sulla reliquerat,
facultas tribuitur, sed de sua salute septimo die cogitare 2
coguntur, quod illi turbulentissimi superioribus temporibus
tribuni plebis *post* octo denique menses suarum actionum
respicere ac timere consuerant. Decurritur ad illud extremum 3
atque ultimum senatus consultum, quo nisi paene in ipso
urbis incendio atque in desperatione omnium salutis scelera-
torum audacia numquam ante descensum est: dent operam
consules, praetores, tribuni plebis, quique *pro* coss. *sint* ad
urbem, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat. Haec SCto 4

perscribuntur a. d. vii. Id. Ian. Itaque v primis diebus,
quibus haberi senatus potuit, qua ex die consulatum iniit
Lentulus, biduo excepto comitiali, et de imperio Caesaris
et de amplissimis viris, tribunis plebis, gravissime acerbissi-
5 meque decernitur. Profugiunt statim ex urbe tribuni plebis
seseque ad Caesarem conferunt. Is eo tempore erat
Ravennae exspectabatque suis lenissimis postulatis responsa,
si qua hominum aequitate res ad otium deduci posset.

1 VI. Proximis diebus habetur extra urbem senatus.
Pompeius eadem illa, quae per Scipionem ostenderat, agit;
senatus virtutem constantiamque collaudat; copias suas
2 exponit: legiones habere sese paratas x; praeterea cognitum
compertumque sibi, alieno esse animo in Caesarem milites
neque eis posse persuaderi, uti eum defendant aut sequantur
3 saltem. De reliquis rebus ad senatum refertur: tota Italia
dilectus habeatur; Faustus Sulla propere in Mauritaniam
4 mittatur; pecunia uti ex aerario Pompeio detur. Refertur
etiam de rege Iuba, ut socius sit atque amicus; Marcellus
5 vero passurum se in praesentia negat. De Fausto impedit
Philippus tribunus plebis. De reliquis rebus senatus con-
sulta perscribuntur. Provinciae privatis decernuntur, duae
consulares, reliquae praetoriae. Scipioni obvenit Syria,
L. Domitio Gallia. Philippus et Cotta privato consilio
6 praetereuntur, neque eorum sortes deiciuntur. In reliquas
provincias praetores mittuntur. Neque exspectant, quod
superioribus annis acciderat, ut de eorum imperio ad
populum feratur, paludatique votis nuncupatis exeunt, quod
7 ante id tempus accidit numquam. Consules ex urbe pro-
ficiscuntur, lictoresque habent in urbe et Capitolio privati
8 contra omnia vetustatis exempla. Tota Italia dilectus
habentur, arma imperantur, pecuniae a municipiis exi-
guntur, e fanis tolluntur, omnia divina humanaque iura
permiscentur.

VII. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar apud milites con- 1
tionatur. Omnium temporum iniurias inimicorum in se
commemorat; a quibus deductum ac depravatum Pompeium
queritur invidia atque obtrectatione laudis suae, cuius
ipse honori et dignitati semper faverit adiutorque fuerit.
Novum in re publica introductum exemplum queritur, ut 2
tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur atque opprimeretur,
quae superioribus annis esset restituta. Sullam nudata 3
omnibus rebus tribunicia potestate tamen intercessionem
liberam reliquisse; Pompeium, qui amissa restituisse vi- 4
deatur dona, etiam, quae ante habuerint, ademisse. Quo 5
tienscumque sit decretum, darent operam magistratus, ne
quid res publica detrimenti caperet, qua voce et quo senatus
consulto populus Romanus ad arma sit vocatus, factum in
perniciosis legibus, in vi tribunicia, in secessione populi,
templis locisque editioribus occupatis; atque haec supe-
rioris aetatis exempla expiata Saturnini atque Gracchorum
casibus docet; quarum rerum illo tempore nihil factum, ne
cogitatum quidem. Hortatur, cuius imperatoris ductu IX 6
annis rem publicam felicissime gesserint plurimaque proelia
secunda fecerint, omnem Galliam Germaniamque pacave-
rint, ut eius existimationem dignitatemque ab inimicis
defendant. Conclamant legionis XIII, quae aderat, milites 7
(hanc enim initio tumultus evocaverat; reliquae nondum
convenerant), sese paratos esse imperatoris sui tribunorum-
que plebis iniurias defendere.

VIII. Cognita militum voluntate Ariminum cum ea 1
legione proficiscitur ibique tribunos plebis, qui ad eum
confugerant, convenit; reliquas legiones ex hibernis evocat
et subsequi iubet. Eo L. Caesar adulescens venit, cuius 2
pater Caesaris erat legatus. Is reliquo sermone confecto,
cuius rei causa venerat, habere se a Pompeio ad eum privati
officii mandata demonstrat: Velle Pompeium se Caesari 3

purgatum, ne ea, quae rei publicae causa egerit, in suam
contumeliam vertat. Semper se rei publicae commoda
privatis necessitudinibus habuisse potiora. Caesarem quoque
pro sua dignitate debere et studium et iracundiam suam rei
publicae dimittere neque adeo graviter irasci inimicis, ut, cum
4 illis nocere se speret, rei publicae noceat. Pauca eiusdem
generis addit cum excusatione Pompei coniuncta. Eadem
fere atque eisdem verbis praetor Roscius agit cum Caesare
sibique Pompeium commemorasse demonstrat.

1 IX. Quae res etsi nihil ad levandas iniurias pertinere
videbantur, tamen idoneos nactus homines, per quos ea,
quae vellet, ad eum perferrentur, petit ab utroque, quoniam
Pompei mandata ad se detulerint, ne graventur sua quoque
ad eum postulata deferre, si parvo labore magnas contro-
versias tollere atque omnem Italiam metu liberare possint.
2 Sibi semper primam rei publicae fuisse dignitatem vitaque
potiorem. Doluisse se, quod populi Romani beneficium
sibi per contumeliam ab inimicis extorqueretur, ereptoque
semenstri imperio in urbem retraheretur, cuius absentis
3 rationem haberi proximis comitiis populus iussisset. Tamen
hanc iacturam honoris sui rei publicae causa aequo animo
tulisse; cum litteras ad senatum miserit, ut omnes ab
4 exercitibus discederent, ne id quidem impetravisse. Tota
Italia dilectus haberi, retineri legiones II, quae ab se simula-
tione Parthici belli sint abductae, civitatem esse in armis.
5 Quonam haec omnia nisi ad suam perniciem pertinere? Sed
tamen ad omnia se descendere paratum atque omnia pati
rei publicae causa. Proficiscatur Pompeius in suas pro-
vincias, ipsi exercitus dimittant, discedant in Italia omnes
ab armis, metus e civitate tollatur, libera comitia atque
omnis res publica senatui populoque Romano permittatur.
6 Haec quo facilius certisque condicionibus fiant et iure
iurando sanciantur, aut ipse propius accedat aut se patiatur

accedere; fore, uti per colloquia omnes controversiae com-
ponantur.

X. Acceptis mandatis Roscius cum L. Caesare Capuam 1
pervenit ibique consules Pompeiumque invenit; postulata
Caesaris renuntiat. Illi deliberata *re* respondent scriptaque 2
ad eum mandata remittunt, quorum haec erat summa:
Caesar in Galliam reverteretur, Arimino excederet, exercitus 3
dimitteret; quae si fecisset, Pompeium in Hispanias iturum.
Interea, quoad fides esset data, Caesarem facturum, quae 4
polliceretur, non intermissuros consules Pompeiumque di-
lectus.

XI. Erat iniqua condicio postulare, ut Caesar Arimino 1
excederet atque in provinciam reverteretur, ipsum et pro-
vincias et legiones alienas tenere; exercitum Caesaris velle
dimitti, dilectus habere; polliceri, se in provinciam iturum, 2
neque, ante quem diem iturus sit, definire, ut, si peracto
consulatu Caesaris non profectus esset, nulla tamen men-
dacii religione obstrictus videretur; tempus vero colloquio 3
non dare neque accessurum polliceri magnam pacis despera-
tionem afferebat. Itaque ab Arimino M. Antonium cum 4
cohortibus v Arretium mittit; ipse Arimini cum duabus
subsistit ibique dilectum habere instituit; Pisaurum, Fanum,
Anconam singulis cohortibus occupat.

XII. Interea certior factus, Iguvium Thermum prae- 1
torem cohortibus v tenere, oppidum munire, omniumque
esse Iguvinorum optimam erga se voluntatem, Curionem
cum tribus cohortibus, quas Pisauri et Arimini habebat,
mittit. Cuius adventu cognito diffisus municipii voluntati 2
Thermus cohortes ex urbe reducit et profugit. Milites in
itinere ab eo discedunt ac domum revertuntur. Curio
summa omnium voluntate Iguvium recipit. Quibus rebus 3
cognitis confisus municipiorum voluntatibus Caesar cohortes
legionis xiii ex praesidiis deducit Auximumque pro-

ficiscitur; quod oppidum Attius cohortibus introductis tenebat dilectumque toto Piceno circummissis senatoribus habebat.

1 XIII. Adventu Caesaris cognito decuriones Auximi ad Attium Varum frequentes conveniunt; docent, sui iudicii rem non esse; neque se neque reliquos municipes pati posse C. Caesarem imperatorem, bene de re publica meritum, tantis rebus gestis oppido moenibusque prohiberi:
2 proinde habeat rationem posteritatis et periculi sui. Quorum oratione permotus Varus praesidium, quod introduxerat,
3 ex oppido educit ac profugit. Hunc ex primo ordine
4 pauci Caesaris consecuti milites consistere coëgerunt. Commisso proelio deseritur a suis Varus; non nulla pars militum domum discedit; reliqui ad Caesarem perveniunt, atque una cum eis deprensus L. Pupius, primi pili centurio, adducitur, qui hunc eundem ordinem in exercitu Cn.
5 Pompei antea duxerat. At Caesar milites Attianos collaudat, Pupium dimittit, Auximatibus agit gratias seque eorum facti memorem fore pollicetur.

1 XIV. Quibus rebus Romam nuntiatis tantus repente terror invasit, ut, cum Lentulus consul ad aperiendum aerarium venisset ad pecuniam Pompeio ex senatus consulto proferendam, protinus aperto sanctiore aerario ex urbe profugeret. Caesar enim adventare iam iamque et adesse
2 eius equites falso nuntiabantur. Hunc Marcellus collega
3 et plerique magistratus consecuti sunt. Cn. Pompeius pridie eius diei ex urbe profectus iter ad legiones habebat, quas a Caesare acceptas in Apulia hibernorum causa dis-
4 posuerat. Dilectus circa urbem intermittuntur; nihil citra Capuam tutum esse omnibus videtur. Capuae primum sese confirmant et colligunt dilectumque colonorum, qui lege Iulia Capuam deducti erant, habere instituunt; gladiatoresque, quos ibi Caesar in ludo habebat, ad forum

productos Lentulus *spe* libertatis confirmat atque his equos
attribuit et se sequi iussit; quos postea monitus ab suis, 5
quod ea res omnium iudicio reprehendebatur, circum
familias conventus Campani custodiae causa distribuit.

XV. Auximo Caesar progressus omnem agrum Pi- 1
cenum percurrit. Cunctae earum regionum praefecturae
libentissimis animis eum recipiunt exercitumque eius omni-
bus rebus iuvant. Etiam Cingulo, quod oppidum Labienus 2
constituerat suaque pecunia exaedificaverat, ad eum legati
veniunt, quaeque imperaverit, se cupidissime facturos polli-
centur. Milites imperat: mittunt. Interea legio XII Caes- 3
arem consequitur. Cum his duabus Asculum Picenum
proficiscitur. Id oppidum Lentulus Spinther X cohortibus
tenebat; qui Caesaris adventu cognito profugit ex oppido
cohortesque secum abducere conatus *a* magna parte mili-
tum deseritur. Relictus in itinere cum paucis incidit in 4
Vibullium Rufum missum a Pompeio in agrum Picenum
confirmandorum hominum causa. A quo factus Vibullius
certior, quae res in Piceno gererentur, milites ab eo accipit,
ipsum dimittit. Item ex finitimis regionibus, quas potest, 5
contrahit cohortes ex dilectibus Pompeianis; in his Came-
rino fugientem Lucilium Hirrum cum sex cohortibus, quas
ibi in praesidio habuerat, excipit; quibus coactis XIII efficit.
Cum his ad Domitium Ahenobarbum Corfinium magnis 6
itineribus pervenit Caesaremque adesse cum legionibus
duabus nuntiat. Domitius per se circiter XX cohortes Alba, 7
ex Marsis et Paelignis, finitimis ab regionibus coëgerat.

XVI. Recepto Firmo expulsoque Lentulo Caesar con- 1
quiri milites, qui ab eo discesserant, dilectumque institui
iubet; ipse unum diem ibi rei frumentariae causa moratus
Corfinium contendit. Eo cum venisset, cohortes V prae- 2
missae a Domitio ex oppido pontem fluminis interrumpe-
bant, qui erat ab oppido milia passuum circiter III. Ibi 3

cum antecursoribus Caesaris proelio commisso celeriter
Domitiani a ponte repulsi se in oppidum receperunt.
4 Caesar legionibus traductis ad oppidum constitit iuxtaque
murum castra posuit.

1 XVII. Re cognita Domitius ad Pompeium in Apuliam
peritos regionum magno proposito praemio cum litteris
mittit, qui petant atque orent, ut sibi subveniat: Caesarem
duobus exercitibus et locorum angustiis facile intercludi
2 posse frumentoque prohiberi. Quod nisi fecerit, se cohor-
tesque amplius xxx magnumque numerum senatorum atque
3 equitum Romanorum in periculum esse venturum. Interim
suos cohortatus tormenta in muris disponit certasque cuique
4 partes ad custodiam urbis attribuit; militibus in contione
agros ex suis possessionibus pollicetur, quaterna in sin-
gulos iugera et pro rata parte centurionibus evocatisque.

1 XVIII. Interim Caesari nuntiatur, Sulmonenses, quod
oppidum a Corfinio vii milium intervallo abest, cupere ea
facere, quae vellet, sed a Q. Lucretio senatore et Attio
Paeligno prohiberi, qui id oppidum vii cohortium praesidio
2 tenebant. Mittit eo M. Antonium cum legionis xiii co-
hortibus v. Sulmonenses, simul atque signa nostra viderunt,
portas aperuerunt universique, et oppidani et milites,
3 obviam gratulantes Antonio exierunt. Lucretius et Attius
de muro se deiecerunt. Attius ad Antonium deductus
petit, ut ad Caesarem mitteretur. Antonius cum cohor-
tibus et Attio eodem die, quo profectus erat, revertitur.
4 Caesar eas cohortes cum exercitu suo coniunxit Attiumque
incolumem dimisit. Caesar primis diebus castra magnis
operibus munire et ex finitimis municipiis frumentum com-
5 portare reliquasque copias exspectare instituit. Eo triduo
legio viii ad eum venit cohortesque ex novis Galliae
dilectibus xxii equitesque ab rege Norico circiter ccc.
Quorum adventu altera castra ad alteram oppidi partem

ponit; his castris Curionem praefecit. Reliquis diebus oppi- 6
dum vallo castellisque circummunire instituit. Cuius operis
maxima parte effecta eodem fere tempore missi a Pompeio
revertuntur.

XIX. Litteris perlectis Domitius dissimulans in con- 1
silio pronuntiat, Pompeium celeriter subsidio venturum,
hortaturque eos, ne animo deficiant, quaeque usui ad
defendendum oppidum sint, parent. Ipse arcano cum 2
paucis familiaribus suis colloquitur consiliumque fugae
capere constituit. Cum vultus Domitii cum oratione non
consentiret atque omnia trepidantius timidiusque ageret,
quam superioribus diebus consuesset, multumque cum suis
consiliandi causa secreto praeter consuetudinem colloque-
retur, concilia conventusque hominum fugeret, res diutius
tegi dissimularique non potuit. Pompeius enim rescrip- 3
serat, sese rem in summum periculum deducturum non
esse, neque suo consilio aut voluntate Domitium se in
oppidum Corfinium contulisse: proinde, si qua fuisset 4
facultas, ad se cum omnibus copiis veniret. Id ne fieri
posset, obsidione atque oppidi circummunitione fiebat.

XX. Divulgato Domitii consilio milites, qui erant 1
Corfinii, primo vesperi secessionem faciunt atque ita inter
se per tribunos militum centurionesque atque honestissimos
sui generis colloquuntur: obsideri se a Caesare; opera muni- 2
tionesque prope esse perfectas; ducem suum Domitium,
cuius spe atque fiducia permanserint, proiectis omnibus
fugae consilium capere: debere se suae salutis rationem
habere. Ab his primo Marsi dissentire incipiunt eamque 3
oppidi partem, quae munitissima videretur, occupant; tanta- 4
que inter eos dissensio exsistit, ut manum conserere atque
armis dimicare conentur; post paulo tamen internuntiis
ultro citroque missis, quae ignorabant, de L. Domitii fuga
cognoscunt. Itaque omnes uno consilio Domitium pro 5

ductum in publicum circumsistunt et custodiunt legatos-
que ex suo numero ad Caesarem mittunt: sese paratos esse
portas aperire, quaeque imperaverit, facere et L. Domitium
vivum eius potestati tradere.

1 XXI. Quibus rebus cognitis Caesar, etsi magni inter-
esse arbitrabatur quam primum oppido potiri cohortesque
ad se in castra traducere, ne qua aut largitionibus aut animi
confirmatione aut falsis nuntiis commutatio fieret voluntatis,
quod saepe in bello parvis momentis magni casus inter-
2 cederent, tamen veritus, ne militum introitu et nocturni
temporis licentia oppidum diriperetur, eos, qui venerant,
collaudat atque in oppidum dimittit, portas murosque
3 asservari iubet. Ipse *in* eis operibus, quae facere insti-
tuerat, milites disponit, non certis spatiis intermissis, ut
erat superiorum dierum consuetudo, sed perpetuis vigiliis
stationibusque, ut contingant inter se atque omnem muni-
4 tionem expleant; tribunos militum et praefectos circum-
mittit atque hortatur, non solum ab eruptionibus caveant,
sed etiam singulorum hominum occultos exitus asservent.
5 Neque vero tam remisso ac languido animo quisquam
6 omnium fuit, qui ea nocte conquieverit. Tanta erat summae
rerum expectatio, ut alius in aliam partem mente atque
animo traheretur, quid ipsis Corfiniensibus, quid Domitio,
quid Lentulo, quid reliquis accideret, qui quosque eventus
exciperent.

1 XXII. Quarta vigilia circiter Lentulus Spinther de
muro cum vigiliis custodibusque nostris colloquitur: velle,
2 si sibi fiat potestas, Caesarem convenire. Facta potestate
ex oppido mittitur, neque ab eo prius Domitiani milites
3 discedunt, quam in conspectum Caesaris deducatur. Cum
eo de salute sua *agit*, orat atque obsecrat, ut sibi parcat,
veteremque amicitiam commemorat Caesarisque in se bene-
4 ficia exponit; quae erant maxima: quod per eum in col-

legium pontificum venerat, quod provinciam Hispaniam
ex praetura habuerat, quod in petitione consulatus erat sub-
levatus. Cuius orationem Caesar interpellat: se non male- 5
ficii causa ex provincia egressum, sed uti se a contumeliis
inimicorum defenderet, ut tribunos plebis in ea re ex
civitate expulsos in suam dignitatem restitueret, ut se et
populum Romanum factione paucorum oppressum in liber-
tatem vindicaret. Cuius oratione confirmatus Lentulus, ut 6
in oppidum reverti liceat, petit: quod de sua salute im-
petraverit, fore etiam reliquis ad suam spem solatio; adeo
esse perterritos non nullos, ut suae vitae durius consulere
cogantur. Facta potestate discedit.

XXIII. Caesar, ubi luxit, omnes senatores senato- 1
rumque liberos, tribunos militum equitesque Romanos ad
se produci iubet. Erant quinque ordinis *senatorii*, L. 2
Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, L. Caecilius Rufus, Sex.
Quintilius Varus quaestor, L. Rubrius; praeterea filius
Domitii aliique complures adulescentes et magnus numerus
equitum Romanorum et decurionum, quos ex municipiis
Domitius evocaverat. Hos omnes productos a contumeliis 3
militum conviciisque prohibet; pauca apud eos loquitur,
quod sibi a parte eorum gratia relata non sit pro suis in eos
maximis beneficiis; dimittit omnes incolumes. HS LX, 4
quod advexerat Domitius atque in publico deposuerat,
allatum ad se ab IIviris Corfiniensibus Domitio reddit,
ne continentior in vita hominum quam in pecunia fuisse
videatur, etsi eam pecuniam publicam esse constabat datam-
que a Pompeio in stipendium. Milites Domitianos sacra- 5
mentum apud se dicere iubet atque eo die castra movet
iustumque iter conficit VII omnino dies ad Corfinium com-
moratus, et per fines Marrucinorum, Frentanorum, Larina-
tium in Apuliam pervenit.

XXIV. Pompeius his rebus cognitis, quae erant ad 1

Corfinium gestae, Luceria proficiscitur Canusium atque
2 inde Brundisium. Copias undique omnes ex novis di-
lectibus ad se cogi iubet; servos, pastores armat atque
eis equos attribuit; ex his circiter ccc equites conficit.
3 L. Manlius praetor Alba cum cohortibus sex profugit,
Rutilius Lupus praetor Tarracina cum tribus; quae procul
equitatum Caesaris conspicatae, cui praeerat Vibius Curius,
relicto praetore signa ad Curium transferunt atque ad eum
4 transeunt. Item reliquis itineribus non nullae cohortes in
agmen Caesaris, aliae in equites incidunt. Reducitur ad
eum deprensus ex itinere N. Magius Cremona, praefectus
5 fabrum Cn. Pompei. Quem Caesar ad eum remittit cum
mandatis: quoniam ad id tempus facultas colloquendi non
fuerit, atque ipse Brundisium sit venturus, interesse rei
publicae et communis salutis, se cum Pompeio colloqui;
6 neque vero idem profici longo itineris spatio, cum per alios
condiciones ferantur, ac si coram de omnibus condicionibus
disceptetur.

1 XXV. His datis mandatis Brundisium cum legionibus
VI pervenit, veteranis III et reliquis, quas ex novo dilectu
2 confecerat atque in itinere compleverat; Domitianas enim
cohortes protinus a Corfinio in Siciliam miserat. Reperit,
consules Dyrrachium profectos cum magna parte exercitus,
Pompeium remanere Brundisii cum cohortibus viginti;
3 neque certum inveniri poterat, obtinendine Brundisii causa
ibi remansisset, quo facilius omne Hadriaticum mare *ab*
extremis Italiae partibus regionibusque Graeciae in potes-
tate haberet atque ex utraque parte bellum administrare
4 posset, an inopia navium ibi restitisset, veritusque, ne ille
Italiam dimittendam non existimaret, exitus administra-
5 tionesque Brundisini portus impedire instituit. Quorum
operum haec erat ratio. Qua fauces erant angustissimae
portus, moles atque aggerem ab utraque parte litoris iacie-

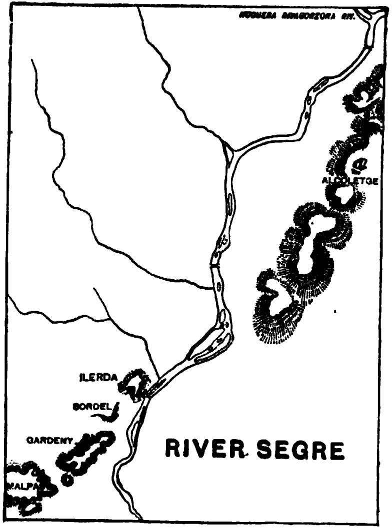
bat, quod his locis erat vadosum mare. Longius progressus, 6
cum agger altiore aqua contineri non posset, rates duplices
quoque versus pedum XXX e regione molis collocabat. Has 7
quaternis ancoris ex IV angulis destinabat, ne fluctibus
moverentur. His perfectis collocatisque alias deinceps pari 8
magnitudine rates iungebat. Has terra atque aggere inte- 9
gebat, ne aditus atque incursus ad defendendum impedi-
retur; a fronte atque ab utroque latere cratibus ac pluteis
protegebat; in quarta quaque earum turres binorum tabu- 10
latorum excitabat, quo commodius ab impetu navium in-
cendiisque defenderet.

XXVI. Contra haec Pompeius naves magnas onerarias, 1
quas in portu Brundisino deprehenderat, adornabat. Ibi
turres cum ternis tabulatis erigebat easque multis tormentis
et omni genere telorum completas ad opera Caesaris appel-
lebat, ut rates perrumperet atque opera disturbaret. Sic
cotidie utrimque eminus fundis, sagittis reliquisque telis
pugnabatur. Atque haec Caesar ita administrabat, ut con- 2
diciones pacis dimittendas non existimaret; ac tametsi
magno opere admirabatur, Magium, quem ad Pompeium
cum mandatis miserat, ad se non remitti, atque ea res saepe
temptata etsi impetus eius consiliaque tardabat, tamen omni-
bus rebus in eo perseverandum putabat. Itaque Caninium 3
Rebilum legatum, familiarem necessariumque Scriboni Li-
bonis, mittit ad eum colloquii causa; mandat, ut Libonem
de concilianda pace hortetur; imprimis, ut ipse cum Pom-
peio colloqueretur, postulat; magno opere sese confidere 4
demonstrat, si eius rei sit potestas facta, fore, ut aequis
condicionibus ab armis discedatur; cuius rei magnam par-
tem laudis atque existimationis ad Libonem perventuram,
si illo auctore atque agente ab armis sit discessum. Libo 5
a colloquio Canini digressus ad Pompeium proficiscitur.
Paulo post renuntiat, quod consules absint, sine illis non

6 posse agi de compositione. Ita saepius rem frustra temptatam Caesar aliquando dimittendam sibi iudicat et de bello agendum.

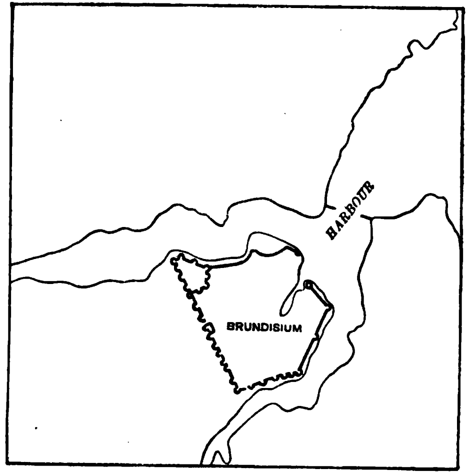
1 XXVII. Prope dimidia parte operis a Caesare effecta diebusque in ea re consumptis IX, naves a consulibus Dyrrachio remissae, quae priorem partem exercitus eo
2 deportaverant, Brundisium revertuntur. Pompeius sive operibus Caesaris permotus sive etiam, quod ab initio Italia excedere constituerat, adventu navium profectionem
3 parare incipit et, quo facilius impetum Caesaris tardaret, ne sub ipsa profectione milites oppidum irrumperent, portas obstruit, vicos plateasque inaedificat, fossas transversas viis praeducit atque ibi sudes stipitesque praeacutos defigit.
4 Haec levibus cratibus terraque inaequat, aditus autem atque itinera duo, quae extra murum ad portum ferebant, maximis defixis trabibus atque eis praeacutis praesaepit.
5 His paratis rebus milites silentio naves conscendere iubet, expeditos autem ex evocatis, sagittariis funditoribusque
6 raros in muro turribusque disponit. Hos certo signo revocare constituit, cum omnes milites naves conscendissent, atque eis expedito loco actuaria navigia relinquit.

1 XXVIII. Brundisini Pompeianorum militum iniuriis atque ipsius Pompei contumeliis permoti Caesaris rebus
2 favebant. Itaque cognita Pompei profectione concursantibus illis atque in ea re occupatis vulgo ex tectis significabant. Per quos re cognita Caesar scalas parari militesque armari iubet, ne quam rei gerendae facultatem dimittat.
3 Pompeius sub noctem naves solvit. Qui erant in muro custodiae causa collocati, eo signo, quod convenerat, revo-
4 cantur notisque itineribus ad naves decurrunt. Milites positis scalis muros ascendunt, sed moniti a Brundisinis, ut vallum caecum fossasque caveant, subsistunt et longo itinere ab his circumducti ad portum perveniunt duasque



ILERDA AND THE SEGRE.

see p. 22



PLAN OF BRUNDISIUM

see p. 14

naves cum militibus, quae ad moles Caesaris adhaeserant,
scaphis lintribusque reprehendunt, reprehensas excipiunt.

XXIX. Caesar, etsi ad spem conficiendi negotii 1
maxime probabat coactis navibus mare transire et Pom-
peium sequi, priusquam ille sese transmarinis auxiliis con-
firmaret, tamen eius rei moram temporisque longinquitatem
timebat, quod omnibus coactis navibus Pompeius prae-
sentem facultatem insequendi sui ademerat. Relinquebatur, 2
ut ex longinquioribus regionibus Galliae Picenique et a
freto naves essent exspectandae. Id propter anni tempus
longum atque impeditum videbatur. Interea veterem 3
exercitum, duas Hispanias confirmari, quarum erat altera
maximis beneficiis Pompei devincta, auxilia, equitatum
parari, Galliam Italiamque temptari se absente nolebat.

XXX. Itaque in praesentia Pompei sequendi rationem 1
omittit, in Hispaniam proficisci constituit; duumviris muni-
cipiorum omnium imperat, ut naves conquirant Brundisium-
que deducendas curent. Mittit in Sardiniam cum legione 2
una Valerium legatum, in Siciliam Curionem pro praetore
cum legionibus II; eundem, cum Siciliam recepisset, pro-
tinus in Africam traducere exercitum iubet. Sardiniam
obtinebat M. Cotta, Siciliam M. Cato; Africam sorte
Tubero obtinere debebat. Caralitani, simul ad se Valerium 3
mitti audierunt, nondum profecto ex Italia sua sponte
Cottam ex oppido eiciunt. Ille perterritus, quod omnem
provinciam consentire intellegebat, ex Sardinia in Africam
profugit. Cato in Sicilia naves longas veteres reficiebat, 4
novas civitatibus imperabat. Haec magno studio agebat.
In Lucanis Bruttiisque per legatos suos civium Romanorum
dilectus habebat, equitum peditumque certum numerum
a civitatibus Siciliae exigebat. Quibus rebus paene per- 5
fectis adventu Curionis cognito queritur in contione, sese
proiectum ac proditum a Cn. Pompeio, qui omnibus rebus

imparatissimus non necessarium bellum suscepisset et ab se reliquisque in senatu interrogatus omnia sibi esse ad bellum apta ac parata confirmavisset. Haec in contione questus ex provincia fugit.

1 XXXI. Nacti vacuas ab imperiis Sardiniam Valerius,
2 Curio Siciliam cum exercitibus eo perveniunt. Tubero, cum in Africam venisset, invenit in provincia cum imperio Attium Varum; qui ad Auximum, ut supra demonstravimus, amissis cohortibus protinus ex fuga in Africam pervenerat atque eam sua sponte vacuam occupaverat dilectuque habito duas legiones effecerat, hominum et locorum notitia et usu eius provinciae nactus aditus ad ea conanda, quod paucis ante annis ex praetura eam provinciam obtinuerat.
3 Hic venientem Uticam navibus Tuberonem portu atque oppido prohibet neque affectum valetudine filium exponere in terra patitur, sed sublatis ancoris excedere eo loco cogit.

1 XXXII. His rebus confectis Caesar, ut reliquum tempus a labore intermitteretur, milites in proxima muni-
2 cipia deducit; ipse ad urbem proficiscitur. Coacto senatu iniurias inimicorum commemorat. Docet, se nullum extraordinarium honorem appetisse, sed exspectato legitimo tempore consulatus eo fuisse contentum, quod omnibus
3 civibus pateret. Latum ab x tribunis plebis contra dicentibus inimicis, Catone vero acerrime repugnante et pristina consuetudine dicendi mora dies extrahente, ut sui ratio absentis haberetur, ipso consule Pompeio; qui si improbasset, cur ferri passus esset? si probasset, cur se
4 uti populi beneficio prohibuisset? Patientiam proponit suam, cum de exercitibus dimittendis ultro postulavisset; in quo iacturam dignitatis atque honoris ipse facturus esset.
5 Acerbitatem inimicorum docet, qui, quod ab altero postularent, in se recusarent atque omnia permisceri mallent,

quam imperium exercitusque dimittere. Iniuriam in eripi- 6
endis legionibus praedicat, crudelitatem et insolentiam in
circumscribendis tribunis plebis; condiciones a se latas,
expetita colloquia et denegata commemorat. Pro quibus 7
rebus hortatur ac postulat, ut rem publicam suscipiant
atque una secum administrent; sin timore defugiant, illis se
oneri non futurum et per se rem publicam administraturum.
Legatos ad Pompeium de compositione mitti oportere; 8
neque se reformidare, quod in senatu Pompeius paulo ante
dixisset, ad quos legati mitterentur, his auctoritatem attribui
timoremque eorum, qui mitterent, significari. Tenuis atque
infirmi haec animi videri. Se vero, ut operibus anteire
studuerit, sic iustitia et aequitate velle superare.

XXXIII. Probat rem senatus de mittendis legatis; 1
sed, qui mitterentur, non reperiebantur, maximeque timoris
causa pro se quisque id munus legationis recusabat. Pom- 2
peius enim discedens ab urbe in senatu dixerat, eodem se
habiturum loco, qui Romae remansissent et qui in castris
Caesaris fuissent. Sic triduum disputationibus excusationi- 3
busque extrahitur. Subicitur etiam L. Metellus tribunus
plebis ab inimicis Caesaris, qui hanc rem distrahat reliquas-
que res, quascumque agere instituerit, impediat. Cuius 4
cognito consilio Caesar frustra diebus aliquot consumptis,
ne reliquum tempus amittat, infectis eis, quae agere desti-
naverat, ab urbe proficiscitur atque in ulteriorem Galliam
pervenit.

XXXIV. Quo cum venisset, cognoscit, missum a 1
Pompeio Vibullium Rufum, quem paucis ante diebus Cor-
finio captum ipse dimiserat; profectum item Domitium 2
ad occupandam Massiliam navibus actuariis septem, quas
Igilii et in Cosano a privatis coactas servis, libertis, colonis
suis compleverat; praemissos etiam legatos Massilienses 3
domum, nobiles adulescentes, quos ab urbe discedens

Pompeius erat adhortatus, ne nova Caesaris officia veterum
4 suorum beneficiorum in eos memoriam expellerent. Quibus
mandatis acceptis Massilienses portas Caesari clauserant;
Albicos, barbaros homines, qui in eorum fide antiquitus
erant montesque supra Massiliam incolebant, ad se voca-
5 verant; frumentum ex finitimis regionibus atque ex omnibus
castellis in urbem convexerant; armorum officinas in urbe
instituerant; muros, portas, classem reficiebant.

1 XXXV. Evocat ad se Caesar Massilia xv primos.
Cum his agit, ne initium inferendi belli ab Massiliensibus
oriatur: debere eos Italiae totius auctoritatem sequi potius
2 quam unius hominis voluntati obtemperare. Reliqua, quae
ad eorum sanandas mentes pertinere arbitrabatur, com-
3 memorat. Cuius orationem legati domum referunt atque
ex auctoritate haec Caesari renuntiant: Intellegere se,
divisum esse populum Romanum in partes duas. Neque
sui iudicii neque suarum esse virium discernere, utra pars
4 iustiorem habeat causam. Principes vero esse earum par-
tium Cn. Pompeium et C. Caesarem, patronos civitatis;
quorum alter agros Volcarum Arecomicorum et Helviorum
publice eis concesserit, alter bello victa Gallia alia attribu-
5 erit vectigaliaque auxerit. Quare paribus eorum beneficiis
parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere et neu-
trum eorum contra alterum iuvare aut urbe aut portibus
recipere.

1 XXXVI. Haec dum inter eos aguntur, Domitius
navibus Massiliam pervenit atque ab eis receptus urbi
2 praeficitur; summa ei belli administrandi permittitur. Eius
imperio classem quoque versus dimittunt; onerarias naves,
quas ubique possunt, deprehendunt atque in portum de-
ducunt, parum clavis aut materia atque armamentis in-
3 structis ad reliquas armandas reficiendasque utuntur; fru-
menti quod inventum est, in publicum conferunt; reliquas

merces commeatusque ad obsidionem urbis, si accidat, reservant. Quibus iniuriis permotus Caesar legiones tres 4
Massiliam adducit; turres vineasque ad oppugnationem urbis agere, naves longas Arelate numero XII facere instituit. Quibus effectis armatisque diebus XXX, a qua die 5
materia caesa est, adductisque Massiliam, his D. Brutum praeficit, C. Trebonium legatum ad oppugnationem Massiliae relinquit.

XXXVII. Dum haec parat atque administrat, C. Fa- 1
bium legatum cum legionibus III, quas Narbone circumque ea loca hiemandi causa disposuerat, in Hispaniam praemittit celeriterque saltus Pyrenaeos occupari iubet, qui eo tempore ab L. Afranio legato praesidiis tenebantur. Reli- 2
quas legiones, quae longius hiemabant, subsequi iubet. Fabius, ut erat imperatum, adhibita celeritate praesidium 3
ex saltu deiecit magnisque itineribus ad exercitum Afranii contendit.

XXXVIII. Adventu L. Vibullii Rufi, quem a Pompeio 1
missum in Hispaniam demonstratum est, Afranius et Petreius et Varro, legati Pompei, quorum unus Hispaniam citeriorem *tribus legionibus, alter ulteriorem* a saltu Castulonensi ad Anam duabus legionibus, tertius ab Ana Vettonum agrum Lusitaniamque pari numero legionum obtinebat, officia inter se partiuntur, uti Petreius ex 2
Lusitania per Vettones cum omnibus copiis ad Afranium proficiscatur, Varro cum eis, quas habebat, legionibus omnem ulteriorem Hispaniam tueatur. His rebus con- 3
stitutis equites auxiliaque toti Lusitaniae a Petreio, Celtiberiae, Cantabris barbarisque omnibus, qui ad Oceanum pertinent, ab Afranio imperantur. Quibus coactis celeriter 4
Petreius per Vettones ad Afranium pervenit, constituuntque communi consilio bellum ad Ilerdam propter ipsius loci opportunitatem gerere.

1 XXXIX. Erant, ut supra demonstratum est, legiones
Afranii III, Petrei duae, praeterea scutatae citerioris pro-
vinciae et cetratae ulterioris Hispaniae cohortes circiter
LXXX equitumque utriusque provinciae circiter V milia.
2 Caesar legiones in Hispaniam praemiserat [ad] VI [milia];
auxilia peditum V milia, equitum III milia, quae omnibus
superioribus bellis habuerat, et parem ex Gallia numerum,
quam ipse pacaverat, nominatim ex omnibus civitatibus
nobilissimo quoque evocato; huc optimi generis hominum
ex Aquitanis montanisque, qui Galliam provinciam attin-
3 gunt, *adiecerat*. Audierat, Pompeium per Mauritaniam
cum legionibus iter in Hispaniam facere confestimque
esse venturum. Simul a tribunis militum centurionibusque
4 mutuas pecunias sumpsit; has exercitui distribuit. Quo
facto duas res consecutus est, quod pignore animos cen-
turionum devinxit et largitione militum voluntates redemit.
1 XL. Fabius finitimarum civitatum animos litteris nun-
tiisque temptabat. In Sicore flumine pontes effecerat
duos distantes inter se milia passuum quattuor. His
pontibus pabulatum mittebat, quod ea, quae citra flumen
2 fuerant, superioribus diebus consumpserat. Hoc idem fere
atque eadem de causa Pompeiani exercitus duces faciebant,
3 crebroque inter se equestribus proeliis contendebant. Huc
cum cotidiana consuetudine egressae pabulatoribus prae-
sidio propiore *ponte* legiones Fabianae duae flumen transis-
sent impedimentaque et omnis equitatus sequeretur, subito
vi ventorum et aquae magnitudine pons est interruptus et
4 reliqua multitudo equitum interclusa. Quo cognito a
Petreio et Afranio ex aggere atque cratibus, quae flumine
ferebantur, celeriter suo ponte Afranius, quem oppido
castrisque coniunctum habebat, legiones III equitatumque
omnem traiecit duabusque Fabianis occurrit legionibus.
5 Cuius adventu nuntiato L. Plancus, qui legionibus praeerat,

necessaria re coactus locum capit superiorem diversamque
aciem in duas partes constituit, ne ab equitatu circumveniri
posset. Ita congressus impari numero magnos impetus 6
legionum equitatusque sustinet. Commisso ab equitibus 7
proelio signa legionum duarum procul ab utrisque conspici-
untur, quas C. Fabius ulteriore ponte subsidio nostris
miserat suspicatus, fore id, quod accidit, ut duces ad-
versariorum occasione et beneficio fortunae ad nostros
opprimendos uterentur. Quarum adventu proelium diri-
mitur ac suas uterque legiones reducit in castra.

XLI. Eo biduo Caesar cum equitibus DCCCC, quos sibi 1
praesidio reliquerat, in castra pervenit. Pons, qui fuerat
tempestate interruptus, paene erat refectus: hunc noctu
perfici iussit. Ipse cognita locorum natura ponti castrisque 2
praesidio sex cohortes reliquit atque omnia impedimenta et
postero die omnibus copiis, triplici instructa acie, ad Iler-
dam proficiscitur et sub castris Afranii constitit et ibi
paulisper sub armis moratus facit aequo loco pugnandi
potestatem. Potestate facta Afranius copias educit et in
medio colle sub castris constituit. Caesar ubi cognovit, 3
per Afranium stare, quo minus proelio dimicaretur, ab
infimis radicibus montis intermissis circiter passibus CCCC
castra facere constituit et, ne in opere faciundo milites 4
repentino hostium incursu exterrerentur atque opere pro-
hiberentur, vallo muniri vetuit, quod eminere et procul
videri necesse erat, sed a fronte contra hostem pedum XV
fossam fieri iussit. Prima et secunda acies in armis, ut ab
initio constituta erat, permanebat; post hos opus in occulto
a III acie fiebat. Sic omne prius est perfectum, quam 5
intellegeretur, ab Afranio castra muniri. Sub vesperum 6
Caesar intra hanc fossam legiones reducit atque ibi sub
armis proxima nocte conquiescit.

XLII. Postero die omnem exercitum intra fossam 1

continet et, quod longius erat agger petendus, in praesentia
similem rationem operis instituit singulaque latera cas-
trorum singulis attribuit legionibus munienda fossasque ad
eandem magnitudinem perfici iubet; reliquas legiones in
2 armis expeditas contra hostem constituit. Afranius Petrei-
usque terrendi causa atque operis impediendi copias suas
ad infimas montis radices producunt et proelio lacessunt,
3 neque idcirco Caesar opus intermittit, confisus praesidio
4 legionum trium et munitione fossae. Illi non diu com-
morati nec longius ab infimo colle progressi copias in
5 castra reducunt. Tertio die Caesar vallo castra communit;
reliquas cohortes, quas in superioribus castris reliquerat,
impedimentaque ad se traduci iubet.

1 XLIII. Erat inter oppidum Ilerdam et proximum
collem, ubi castra Petreius atque Afranius habebant, plani-
ties circiter passuum CCC, atque in hoc fere medio spatio
2 tumulus erat paulo editior; quem si occupavisset Caesar
et communisset, ab oppido et ponte et commeatu omni,
quem in oppidum contulerant, se interclusurum adversarios
3 confidebat. Hoc sperans legiones III ex castris educit
acieque in locis idoneis instructa unius legionis antesignanos
4 procurrere atque eum tumulum occupare iubet. Qua re
cognita celeriter, quae in statione pro castris erant Afranii
cohortes, breviore itinere ad eundem occupandum locum
5 mittuntur. Contenditur proelio et, quod prius in tumulum
Afraniani uenerant, nostri repelluntur atque aliis sum-
missis subsidiis terga vertere seque ad signa legionum
recipere coguntur.

1 XLIV. Genus erat pugnae militum illorum, ut magno
impetu primo procurrerent, audacter locum caperent,
ordines suos non magno opere servarent, rari dispersique
2 pugnarent; si premerentur, pedem referre et loco excedere
non turpe existimarent, cum Lusitanis reliquisque barbaris

barbaro genere quodam pugnae assuefacti; quod fere fit, 3
quibus quisque in locis miles inveteraverit, ut multum
earum regionum consuetudine moveatur. Haec tum ratio 4
nostros perturbavit insuetos huius generis pugnae: circumiri
enim sese ab aperto latere procurrentibus singulis arbitra-
bantur; ipsi autem suos ordines servare neque ab signis
discedere neque sine gravi causa eum locum, quem ceperant,
dimitti censuerant oportere. Itaque perturbatis antesignanis 5
legio, quae in eo cornu constiterat, locum non tenuit atque
in proximum collem sese recepit.

XLV. Caesar paene omni acie perterrita, quod praeter 1
opinionem consuetudinemque acciderat, cohortatus suos
legionem nonam subsidio ducit; hostem insolenter atque
acriter nostros insequentem supprimit rursusque terga vertere
seque ad oppidum Ilerdam recipere et sub muro consistere
cogit. Sed nonae legionis milites elati studio, dum sarcire 2
acceptum detrimentum volunt, temere insecuti longius
fugientes, in locum iniquum progrediuntur et sub montem,
in quo erat oppidum positum Ilerda, succedunt. Hinc se 3
recipere cum vellent, rursus illi ex loco superiore nostros
premebant. Praeruptus locus erat, utraque ex parte de- 4
rectus, ac tantum in latitudinem patebat, ut tres instructae
cohortes eum locum explerent, ut neque subsidia a lateribus
summitti neque equites laborantibus usui esse possent. Ab 5
oppido autem declivis locus tenui fastigio vergebat in longi-
tudinem passuum circiter CCCC. Hac nostris erat receptus, 6
quod eo incitati studio inconsultius processerant; hoc pug-
nabatur loco, et propter angustias iniquo et quod sub ipsis
radicibus montis constiterant, ut nullum frustra telum in
eos mitteretur. Tamen virtute et patientia nitebantur atque
omnia vulnera sustinebant. Augebantur illis copiae, atque 7
ex castris cohortes per oppidum crebro summittebantur, ut
integri defessis succederent. Hoc idem Caesar facere coge- 8

batur, ut summissis in eundem locum cohortibus defessos reciperet.

1 XLVI. Hoc cum esset modo pugnatum continenter horis quinque, nostrique gravius a multitudine premerentur, consumptis omnibus telis gladiis destrictis impetum adversus montem in cohortes faciunt paucisque deiectis reliquos sese
2 convertere cogunt. Summotis sub murum cohortibus ac non nullam partem propter terrorem in oppidum compulsis
3 facilis est nostris receptus datus. Equitatus autem noster ab utroque latere, etsi deiectis atque inferioribus locis constiterat, tamen summa in iugum virtute conititur atque inter duas acies perequitans commodiorem ac tutiorem nostris receptum dat. Ita vario certamine pugnatum est.
4 Nostri in primo congressu circiter LXX ceciderunt, in his Q. Fulginius ex primo hastato legionis XIV, qui propter eximiam virtutem ex inferioribus ordinibus in eum locum
5 pervenerat; vulnerantur amplius DC. Ex Afranianis interficiuntur T. Caecilius, primi pili centurio, et praeter eum centuriones IV, milites amplius CC.

1 XLVII. Sed haec eius diei praefertur opinio, ut se
2 utrique superiores discessisse existimarent: Afraniani, quod, cum esse omnium iudicio inferiores viderentur, comminus tam diu stetissent et nostrorum impetum sustinuissent et initio locum tumulumque tenuissent, quae causa pugnandi fuerat, et nostros primo congressu terga vertere coëgissent;
3 nostri autem, quod iniquo loco atque impari congressi numero quinque horis proelium sustinuissent, quod montem gladiis destrictis ascendissent, quod ex loco superiore terga vertere adversarios coëgissent atque in oppidum com-
4 pulissent. Illi eum tumulum, pro quo pugnatum est, magnis operibus munierunt praesidiumque ibi posuerunt.

1 XLVIII. Accidit etiam repentinum incommodum biduo, quo haec gesta sunt. Tanta enim tempestas

cooritur, ut numquam illis locis maiores aquas fuisse constaret. Tum autem ex omnibus montibus nives proluit 2
ac summas ripas fluminis superavit pontesque ambo, quos C. Fabius fecerat, uno die interrupit. Quae res magnas 3
difficultates exercitui Caesaris attulit. Castra enim, ut supra demonstratum est, cum essent inter flumina duo, Sicorim et Cingam, spatio milium xxx, neutrum horum transiri poterat, necessarioque omnes his angustiis continebantur. Neque 4
civitates, quae ad Caesaris amicitiam accesserant, frumentum supportare, neque ei, qui pabulatum longius progressi erant, interclusi fluminibus reverti, neque maximi commeatus, qui ex Italia Galliaque veniebant, in castra pervenire poterant. Tempus erat autem difficillimum, quo neque frumenta in 5
hibernis erant neque multum a maturitate aberant, ac civitates exinanitae, quod Afranius paene omne frumentum ante Caesaris adventum Ilerdam convexerat, reliqui si quid fuerat, Caesar superioribus diebus consumpserat; pecora, 6
quod secundum poterat esse inopiae subsidium, propter bellum finitimae civitates longius removerant. Qui erant 7
pabulandi aut frumentandi causa progressi, hos levis armaturae Lusitani peritique earum regionum cetrati citerioris Hispaniae consectabantur; quibus erat proclive tranare flumen, quod consuetudo eorum omnium est, ut sine utribus ad exercitum non eant.

XLIX. At exercitus Afranii omnium rerum abundabat 1
copia. Multum erat frumentum provisum et convectum superioribus temporibus, multum ex omni provincia comportabatur; magna copia pabuli suppetebat. Harum omnium 2
rerum facultates sine ullo periculo pons Ilerdae praebebat et loca trans flumen integra, quo omnino Caesar adire non poterat.

L. Hae permanserunt aquae dies complures. Conatus est Caesar reficere pontes, sed nec magnitudo fluminis 1

permittebat neque ad ripam dispositae cohortes adver-
2 sariorum perfici patiebantur; quod illis prohibere erat
facile cum ipsius fluminis natura atque aquae magnitudine,
tum quod ex totis ripis in unum atque angustum locum
3 tela iaciebantur; atque erat difficile eodem tempore rapi-
dissimo flumine opera perficere et tela vitare.

1 LI. Nuntiatur Afranio, magnos commeatus, qui iter
habeant ad Caesarem, ad flumen constitisse. Venerant
eo sagittarii ex Rutenis, equites ex Gallia cum multis
carris magnisque impedimentis, ut fert Gallica consuetudo.
2 Erant praeterea cuiusque generis hominum milia circiter VI
cum servis libertisque; sed nullus ordo, nullum imperium
certum, cum suo quisque consilio uteretur atque omnes
sine timore iter facerent, usi superiorum temporum atque
3 itinerum licentia. Erant complures honesti adulescentes,
senatorum filii et ordinis equestris; erant legationes civi-
tatum; erant legati Caesaris. Hos omnes flumina contine-
4 bant. Ad hos opprimendos cum omni equitatu tribusque
legionibus Afranius de nocte proficiscitur imprudentesque
ante missis equitibus aggreditur. Celeriter sese tamen Galli
5 equites expediunt proeliumque committunt. Ei, dum pari
certamine res geri potuit, magnum hostium numerum pauci
sustinuere; sed, ubi signa legionum appropinquare coepe-
runt, paucis amissis sese in proximos montes conferunt.
6 Hoc pugnae tempus magnum attulit nostris ad salutem
momentum: nacti enim spatium se in loca superiora
receperunt. Desiderati sunt eo die sagittarii circiter CC,
equites pauci, calonum atque impedimentorum non magnus
numerus.

1 LII. His tamen omnibus annona crevit; quae fere
res non solum inopia praesenti, sed etiam futuri temporis
2 timore ingravescere consuevit. Iamque ad denarios L in
singulos modios annona pervenerat, et militum vires inopia

frumenti deminuerat, atque incommoda in dies augebantur; et tam paucis diebus magna erat rerum facta commutatio 3
ac se fortuna inclinaverat, ut nostri magna inopia necessariarum rerum conflictarentur, illi omnibus abundarent rebus superioresque haberentur. Caesar eis civitatibus, 4
quae ad eius amicitiam accesserant, quod minor erat frumenti copia, pecus imperabat; calones ad longinquiores civitates dimittebat; ipse praesentem inopiam, quibus poterat subsidiis, tutabatur.

LIII. Haec Afranius Petreiusque et eorum amici 1
pleniora etiam atque uberiora Romam ad suos perscribebant. Multa rumore affingebantur, ut paene bellum con- 2
fectum videretur. Quibus litteris nuntiisque Romam perlatis 3
magni domum concursus ad Afranium magnaeque gratulationes fiebant; multi ex Italia ad Cn. Pompeium proficiscebantur, alii, ut principes talem nuntium attulisse, alii, ne eventum belli exspectasse aut ex omnibus novissimi venisse viderentur.

LIV. Cum in his angustiis res esset atque omnes viae 1
ab Afranianis militibus equitibusque obsiderentur nec pontes perfici possent, imperat militibus Caesar, ut naves faciant, cuius generis eum superioribus annis usus Britanniae docuerat. Carinae ac prima statumina ex levi materia fiebant; 2
reliquum corpus navium viminibus contextum coriis integebatur. Has perfectas carris iunctis devehit noctu milia 3
passuum a castris XXII militesque his navibus flumen transportat continentemque ripae collem improviso occupat. Hunc celeriter, prius quam ab adversariis sentiatur, com- 4
munit. Huc legionem postea traicit atque ex utraque parte pontem instituit, biduo perficit. Ita commeatus et 5
qui frumenti causa processerant tuto ad se recipit et rem frumentariam expedire incipit.

LV. Eodem die equitum magnam partem flumen 1

traiecit. Qui inopinantes pabulatores et sine ullo dissi-
patos timore aggressi magnum numerum iumentorum atque
2 hominum intercipiunt; cohortibusque cetratis subsidio missis
scienter in duas partes sese distribuunt, alii, ut praedae
praesidio sint, alii, ut venientibus resistant atque eos pro-
3 pellant, unamque cohortem, quae temere ante ceteras extra
aciem procurrerat, seclusam ab reliquis circumveniunt atque
interficiunt incolumesque cum magna praeda eodem ponte
in castra revertuntur.

1 LVI. Dum haec ad Ilerdam geruntur, Massilienses usi
L. Domitii consilio naves longas expediunt numero XVII,
2 quarum erant XI tectae. Multa huc minora navigia addunt,
ut ipsa multitudine nostra classis terreatur. Magnum nu-
merum sagittariorum, magnum Albicorum, de quibus supra
demonstratum est, imponunt atque hos praemiis pollicita-
3 tionibusque incitant. Certas sibi deposcit naves Domitius
atque has colonis pastoribusque, quos secum adduxerat,
complet. Sic omnibus rebus instructa classe magna fiducia
ad nostras naves procedunt, quibus praeerat D. Brutus.
Hae ad insulam, quae est contra Massiliam, stationes
obtinebant.

1 LVII. Erat multo inferior numero navium Brutus;
sed electos ex omnibus legionibus fortissimos viros, ante-
signanos, centuriones, Caesar ei classi attribuerat, qui sibi
2 id muneris depoposcerant. Hi manus ferreas atque harpa-
gones paraverant magnoque numero pilorum, tragularum
reliquorumque telorum se instruxerant. Ita cognito hostium
adventu suas naves ex portu educunt, cum Massiliensibus
3 confligunt. Pugnatum est utrimque fortissime atque acer-
rime; neque multum Albici nostris virtute cedebant,
4 homines asperi et montani et exercitati in armis; atque
hi modo digressi *a* Massiliensibus recentem eorum polli-
citationem animis continebant, pastoresque Domitii spe

libertatis excitati sub oculis domini suam probare operam studebant.

LVIII. Ipsi Massilienses et celeritate navium et 1
scientia gubernatorum confisi nostros eludebant impetusque eorum excipiebant et, quoad licebat latiore uti spatio, producta longius acie circumvenire nostros aut pluribus navibus adoriri singulas aut remos transcurrentes
detergere, si possent, contendebant; cum propius erat 2
necessario ventum, ab scientia gubernatorum atque arti-
ficiis ad virtutem montanorum confugiebant. *Nostri* cum 3
minus exercitatis remigibus minusque peritis gubernatoribus utebantur, qui repente ex onerariis navibus erant producti nequedum etiam vocabulis armamentorum cognitis, tum etiam tarditate et gravitate navium impediebantur: factae enim subito ex umida materia non eundem usum celeri-
tatis habebant. Itaque, dum locus comminus pugnandi 4
daretur, aequo animo singulas binis navibus obiciebant atque iniecta manu ferrea et retenta utraque nave diversi pugnabant atque in hostium naves transcendebant, et magno numero Albicorum et pastorum interfecto partem navium deprimunt, non nullas cum hominibus capiunt, reliquas in portum compellunt. Eo die naves Massiliensium cum eis, quae sunt captae, intereunt IX.

LIX. Hoc primum Caesari ad Ilerdam nuntiatur; 1
simul perfecto ponte celeriter fortuna mutatur. Illi per- 2
territi virtute equitum minus libere, minus audacter vagabantur, alias non longo a castris progressi spatio, ut
celerem receptum haberent, angustius pabulabantur, alias 3
longiore circuitu custodias stationesque equitum vitabant, aut (aliquo accepto detrimento) aut procul equitatu viso ex medio itinere proiectis sarcinis fugiebant. Postremo et plures intermittere dies et praeter consuetudinem omnium noctu constituerant pabulari.

1 LX. Interim Oscenses et Calagurritani, qui erant cum
Oscensibus contributi, mittunt ad eum legatos seseque im-
2 perata facturos pollicentur. Hos Tarraconenses et Iacetani
et Ausetani et paucis post diebus Illurgavonenses, qui
3 flumen Hiberum attingunt, insequuntur. Petit ab his
omnibus, ut se frumento iuvent. Pollicentur atque omni-
bus undique conquisitis iumentis in castra deportant.
4 Transit etiam cohors Illurgavonensis ad eum cognito civi-
tatis consilio et signa ex statione transfert. Magna celeriter
5 commutatio rerum. Perfecto ponte, magnis quinque civi-
tatibus ad amicitiam adiunctis, expedita re frumentaria,
exstinctis rumoribus de auxiliis legionum, quae cum Pom-
peio per Mauritaniam venire dicebantur, multae longin-
quiores civitates ab Afranio desciscunt et Caesaris amicitiam
sequuntur.

1 LXI. Quibus rebus perterritis animis adversariorum
Caesar ne semper magno circuitu per pontem equitatus es-
set mittendus, nactus idoneum locum fossas pedum xxx in
latitudinem complures facere instituit, quibus partem ali-
2 quam Sicoris averteret vadumque in eo flumine efficeret. His
paene effectis magnum in timorem Afranius Petreiusque
perveniunt, ne omnino frumento pabuloque interclude-
rentur, quod multum Caesar equitatu valebat. Itaque
constituunt ipsi locis excedere et in Celtiberiam bellum
3 transferre. Huic consilio suffragabatur etiam illa res, quod,
ex duobus contrariis generibus quae superiore bello cum
Sertorio steterant civitates, victae nomen atque imperium
absentis Pompei timebant, quae in amicitia manserant,
magnis affectae beneficiis eum diligebant, Caesaris autem
erat in barbaris nomen obscurius. Hic magnos equitatus
magnaque auxilia exspectabant et suis locis bellum in
4 hiemem ducere cogitabant. Hoc inito consilio toto flumine
Hibero naves conquirere et Octogesam adduci iubent. Id

erat oppidum positum ad Hiberum miliaque passuum a castris aberat xxx. Ad eum locum fluminis navibus iunctis pontem imperant fieri legionesque duas flumen Sicorim traducunt; castra muniuntur vallo pedum XII.

LXII. Qua re per exploratores cognita summo labore 1 militum Caesar continuato diem noctemque opere in flumine avertendo huc iam rem deduxerat, ut equites, etsi difficulter atque aegre fiebat, possent tamen atque auderent flumen transire, pedites vero tantum modo umeris ac summo 2 pectore exstarent et cum altitudine aquae tum etiam rapiditate fluminis ad transeundum impedirentur. Sed tamen 3 eodem fere tempore pons in Hibero prope effectus nuntiabatur, et in Sicori vadum reperiebatur.

LXIII. Iam vero eo magis illi maturandum iter existimabant. 1 Itaque duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus Ilerdae praesidio relictis omnibus copiis Sicorim transeunt et cum duabus legionibus, quas superioribus diebus traduxerant, castra iungunt. Relinquebatur Caesari nihil, nisi uti equitatu 2 agmen adversariorum male haberet et carperet. Pons enim ipsius magnum circuitum habebat, ut multo breviore itinere illi ad Hiberum pervenire possent. Equites ab eo 3 missi flumen transeunt et, cum de tertia vigilia Petreius atque Afranius castra movissent, repente sese ad novissimum agmen ostendunt et magna multitudine circumfusa morari atque iter impedire incipiunt.

LXIV. Prima luce ex superioribus locis, quae Caesaris 1 castris erant coniuncta, cernebatur, equitatus nostri proelio novissimos illorum premi vehementer, ac non numquam sustinere extremum agmen atque interrumpi, alias inferri 2 signa et universarum cohortium impetu nostros propelli, dein rursus conversos insequi. Totis vero castris milites 3 circulari et dolere, hostem ex manibus dimitti, bellum necessario longius duci; centuriones tribunosque militum

adire atque obsecrare, ut per eos Caesar certior fieret, ne
labori suo neu periculo parceret: paratos esse sese, posse
et audere ea transire flumen, qua traductus esset equitatus.
4 Quorum studio et vocibus excitatus Caesar, etsi timebat
tantae magnitudini fluminis exercitum obicere, conandum
5 tamen atque experiendum iudicat. Itaque infirmiores
milites ex omnibus centuriis deligi iubet, quorum aut
6 animus aut vires videbantur sustinere non posse. Hos cum
legione una praesidio castris relinquit; reliquas legiones
expeditas educit magnoque numero iumentorum in flumine
7 supra atque infra constituto traducit exercitum. Pauci ex
his militibus abrepti vi fluminis ab equitatu excipiuntur ac
sublevantur; interit tamen nemo. Traducto incolumi exer-
8 citu copias instruit triplicemque aciem ducere incipit. Ac
tantum fuit in militibus studii, ut milium sex ad iter addito
circuitu magnaque ad vadum fluminis mora interposita eos,
qui de tertia vigilia exissent, ante horam diei IX conse-
querentur.

1 LXV. Quos ubi Afranius procul visos cum Petreio
conspexit, nova re perterritus locis superioribus constitit
2 aciemque instruit. Caesar in campis exercitum refecit, ne
defessum proelio obiciat; rursus conantes progredi inse-
3 quitur et moratur. Illi necessario maturius, quam con-
stituerant, castra ponunt. Suberant enim montes atque
a milibus passuum V itinera difficilia atque angusta ex-
4 cipiebant. Hos montes intrare cupiebant, ut equitatum
effugerent Caesaris praesidiisque in angustiis collocatis
exercitum itinere prohiberent, ipsi sine periculo ac timore
5 Hiberum copias traducerent. Quod fuit illis conandum
atque omni ratione efficiendum; sed totius diei pugna
atque itineris labore defessi rem in posterum diem dis-
tulerunt. Caesar quoque in proximo colle castra ponit.

1 LXVI. Media circiter nocte eis, qui aquandi causa

longius a castris processerant, ab equitibus correptis, fit ab
his cèrtior Caesar, duces adversariorum silentio copias
castris educere. Quo cognito signum dari iubet et vasa 2
militari more conclamari. Illi exaudito clamore veriti,
ne noctu impediti sub onere confligere cogerentur aut ne
ab equitatu Caesaris in angustiis tenerentur, iter suppri-
munt copiasque in castris continent. Postero die Petreius 3
cum paucis equitibus occulte ad exploranda loca pro-
ficiscitur. Hoc idem fit ex castris Caesaris. Mittitur L.
Decidius Saxa cum paucis, qui loci naturam perspiciat.
Uterque idem suis renuntiat: v milia passuum proxima 4
intercedere itineris campestris, inde excipere loca aspera
et montuosa; qui prior has angustias occupaverit, ab hoc
hostem prohiberi nihil esse negotii.

LXVII. Disputatur in consilio a Petreio atque Afranio 1
et tempus profectionis quaeritur. Plerique censebant, ut
noctu iter facerent: posse prius ad angustias veniri, quam
sentiretur. Alii, quod pridie noctu conclamatum esset in 2
Caesaris castris, argumenti sumebant loco, non posse clam
exiri. Circumfundi noctu equitatum Caesaris atque omnia 3
loca atque itinera obsidere; nocturnaque proelia esse vi-
tanda, quod perterritus miles in civili dissensione timori
magis quam religioni consulere consueverit. At lucem 4
multum per se pudorem omnium oculis, multum etiam
tribunorum militum et centurionum praesentiam afferre;
quibus rebus coërceri milites et in officio contineri soleant.
Quare omni ratione esse interdiu perrumpendum: etsi 5
aliquo accepto detrimento, tamen summa exercitus salva
locum, quem petant, capi posse. Haec vincit in consilio 6
sententia, et prima luce postridie constituunt proficisci.

LXVIII. Caesar exploratis regionibus albente caelo 1
omnes copias castris educit magnoque circuitu nullo certo
itinere exercitum ducit. Nam quae itinera ad Hiberum

atque Octogesam pertinebant, castris hostium oppositis
2 tenebantur. Ipsi erant transcendendae valles maximae ac difficillimae, saxa multis locis praerupta iter impediebant, ut arma per manus necessario traderentur militesque inermes sublevatique alii ab aliis magnam partem itineris
3 conficerent. Sed hunc laborem recusabat nemo, quod eum omnium laborum finem fore existimabant, si hostem Hibero intercludere et frumento prohibere potuissent.

1 LXIX. Ac primo Afraniani milites visendi causa laeti ex castris procurrebant contumeliosisque vocibus prosequebantur: necessarii victus inopia coactos fugere atque ad Ilerdam reverti. Erat enim iter a proposito diversum,
2 contrariamque in partem iri videbatur. Duces vero eorum consilium suum laudibus ferebant, quod se castris tenuissent; multumque eorum opinionem adiuvabat, quod sine iumentis impedimentisque ad iter profectos videbant, ut
3 non posse inopiam diutius sustinere confiderent. Sed, ubi paulatim retorqueri agmen ad dextram conspexerunt iamque primos superare regionem castrorum animum adverterunt, nemo erat adeo tardus aut fugiens laboris, quin statim
4 castris exeundum atque occurrendum putaret. Conclamatur ad arma, atque omnes copiae paucis praesidio relictis cohortibus exeunt rectoque ad Hiberum itinere contendunt.

1 LXX. Erat in celeritate omne positum certamen, utri prius angustias montesque occuparent; sed exercitum Caesaris viarum difficultates tardabant, Afranii copias equitatus
2 Caesaris insequens morabatur. Res tamen ab Afranianis huc erat necessario deducta, ut, si priores montes, quos petebant, attigissent, ipsi periculum vitarent, impedimenta totius exercitus cohortesque in castris relictas servare non possent; quibus interclusis exercitu Caesaris auxilium ferri
3 nulla ratione poterat. Confecit prior iter Caesar atque ex magnis rupibus nactus planitiem in hac contra hostem

aciem instruit. Afranius, cum ab equitatu novissimum
agmen premeretur, ante se hostem videret, collem quen-
dam nactus ibi constitit. Ex eo loco IV cetratorum cohor- 4
tes in montem, qui erat in conspectu omnium excelsissimus,
mittit. Hunc magno cursu concitatos iubet occupare, eo
consilio, uti ipse eodem omnibus copiis contenderet et
mutato itinere iugis Octogesam perveniret. Hunc cum 5
obliquo itinere cetrati peterent, conspicatus equitatus Cae-
saris in cohortes impetum fecit; nec minimam partem
temporis equitum vim cetrati sustinere potuerunt omnes-
que ab eis circumventi in conspectu utriusque exercitus
interficiuntur.

LXXI. Erat occasio bene gerendae rei. Neque vero 1
id Caesarem fugiebat, tanto sub oculis accepto detrimento
perterritum exercitum sustinere non posse, praesertim cir-
cumdatum undique equitatu, cum in loco aequo atque
aperto confligeretur; idque ex omnibus partibus ab eo
flagitabatur. Concurrebant legati, centuriones tribunique 2
militum: Ne dubitaret proelium committere. Omnium
esse militum paratissimos animos. Afranianos contra multis 3
rebus sui timoris signa misisse: quod suis non subvenissent,
quod de colle non decederent, quod vix equitum incursus
sustinerent, collatisque in unum locum signis, conferti neque
ordines neque signa servarent. Quod si iniquitatem loci 4
timeret, datum iri tamen aliquo loco pugnandi facultatem,
quod certe inde decedendum esset Afranio nec sine aqua
permanere posset.

LXXII. Caesar in eam spem venerat, se sine pugna 1
et sine vulnere suorum rem conficere posse, quod re fru-
mentaria adversarios interclusisset. Cur etiam secundo 2
proelio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur vulnerari pateretur
optime de se meritos milites? cur denique fortunam peri-
clitaretur? praesertim cum non minus esset imperatoris

3 consilio superare quam gladio. Movebatur etiam miseri-
cordia civium, quos interficiendos videbat; quibus salvis
4 atque incolumibus rem obtinere malebat. Hoc consilium
Caesaris plerisque non probabatur; milites vero palam inter
se loquebantur, quoniam talis occasio victoriae dimitteretur,
etiam cum vellet Caesar, sese non esse pugnaturos. Ille
in sua sententia perseverat et paulum ex eo loco degreditur,
5 ut timorem adversariis minuat. Petreius atque Afranius
oblata facultate in castra sese referunt. Caesar praesidiis
in montibus dispositis omni ad Hiberum incluso itinere,
quam proxime potest hostium castris, castra communit.

1 LXXIII. Postero die duces adversariorum perturbati,
quod omnem rei frumentariae fluminisque Hiberi spem
2 dimiserant, de reliquis rebus consultabant. Erat unum
iter, Ilerdam si reverti vellent, alterum, si Tarraconem
peterent. Haec consiliantibus eis nuntiantur aquatores ab
3 equitatu premi nostro. Qua re cognita crebras stationes
disponunt equitum et cohortium alariarum legionariasque
intericiunt cohortes vallumque ex castris ad aquam ducere
incipiunt, ut intra munitionem et sine timore et sine sta-
tionibus aquari possent. Id opus inter se Petreius atque
Afranius partiuntur ipsique perficiundi operis causa longius
progrediuntur.

1 LXXIV. Quorum discessu liberam nacti milites collo-
quiorum facultatem vulgo procedunt, et quem quisque in
castris notum aut municipem habebat, conquirit atque
2 evocat. Primum agunt gratias omnes omnibus, quod sibi
perterritis pridie pepercissent: eorum se beneficio vivere.
Deinde imperatoris fidem quaerunt, rectene se illi sint
commissuri, et, quod non ab initio fecerint armaque cum
hominibus necessariis et consanguineis contulerint, que-
3 runtur. His provocati sermonibus fidem ab imperatore
de Petrei atque Afranii vita petunt, ne quod in se scelus

concepisse neu suos prodidisse videantur. Quibus confirmatis rebus se statim signa translaturos confirmant legatosque de pace primorum ordinum centuriones ad Caesarem
mittunt. Interim alii suos in castra invitandi causa 4
adducunt, alii ab suis abducuntur, adeo ut una castra iam facta ex binis viderentur; compluresque tribuni militum et centuriones ad Caesarem veniunt seque ei commendant.
Idem hoc fit a principibus Hispaniae, quos illi evocaverant 5
et secum in castris habebant obsidum loco. Hi suos notos hospitesque quaerebant, per quem quisque eorum aditum
commendationis haberet ad Caesarem. Afranii etiam 6
filius adulescens de sua ac parentis sui salute cum Caesare
per Sulpicium legatum agebat. Erant plena laetitia et 7
gratulatione omnia, eorum, qui tanta pericula vitasse, et eorum, qui sine vulnere tantas res confecisse videbantur, magnumque fructum suae pristinae lenitatis omnium iudicio Caesar ferebat, consiliumque eius a cunctis probabatur.

LXXV. Quibus rebus nuntiatis Afranio, ab instituto 1
opere discedit seque in castra recipit, sic paratus, ut videbatur, ut, quicumque accidisset casus, hunc quieto et aequo
animo ferret. Petreius vero non deserit sese. Armat 2
familiam: cum hac et praetoria cohorte cetratorum barbarisque equitibus paucis, beneficiariis suis, quos suae custodiae causa habere consuerat, improviso ad vallum advolat, colloquia militum interrumpit, nostros repellit a castris,
quos deprendit, interficit. Reliqui coëunt inter se et re- 3
pentino periculo exterriti sinistras sagis involvunt gladiosque destringunt, atque ita se a cetratis equitibusque defendunt castrorum propinquitate confisi seque in castra recipiunt et ab eis cohortibus, quae erant in statione ad portas, defenduntur.

LXXVI. Quibus rebus confectis flens Petreius mani- 1
pulos circumit militesque appellat, neu se neu Pompeium

imperatorem suum adversariis ad supplicium tradant, ob-
2 secrat. Fit celeriter concursus in praetorium. Postulat,
ut iurent omnes, se exercitum ducesque non deserturos
neque prodituros, neque sibi separatim a reliquis consilium
3 capturos. Princeps in haec verba iurat ipse; idem ius-
iurandum adigit Afranium; subsequuntur tribuni militum
centurionesque; centuriatim producti milites idem iurant.
4 Edicunt, penes quem quisque sit Caesaris miles, ut produ-
catur: productos palam in praetorio interficiunt. Sed
plerosque ei, qui receperant, celant noctuque per vallum
5 emittunt. Sic terrore oblato a ducibus crudelitas in sup-
plicio, nova religio iuris iurandi spem praesentis deditionis
sustulit mentesque militum convertit et rem ad pristinam
belli rationem redegit.

1 LXXVII. Caesar, qui milites adversariorum in castra
per tempus colloquii venerant, summa diligentia conquiri
2 et remitti iubet. Sed ex numero tribunorum militum
centurionumque non nulli sua voluntate apud eum reman-
serunt. Quos ille postea magno in honore habuit; cen-
turiones in priores ordines, equites Romanos in tribunicium
restituit honorem.

1 LXXVIII. Premebantur Afraniani pabulatione, aqua-
bantur aegre. Frumenti copiam legionarii non nullam
habebant, quod dierum XXII ab Ilerda frumentum iussi
2 erant efferre, cetrati auxiliaresque nullam, quorum erant
et facultates ad parandum exiguae et corpora insueta ad
onera portanda. Itaque magnus eorum cotidie numerus
3 ad Caesarem perfugiebat. In his erat angustiis res. Sed
ex propositis consiliis duobus explicitius videbatur Ilerdam
reverti, quod ibi paulum frumenti reliquerant. Ibi se re-
4 liquum consilium explicaturos confidebant. Tarraco aberat
longius; quo spatio plures rem posse casus recipere intel-
legebant. Hoc probato consilio ex castris proficiscuntur.

Caesar equitatu praemisso, qui novissimum agmen carperet 5
atque impediret, ipse cum legionibus subsequitur. Nullum
intercedebat tempus, quin extremi cum equitibus proelia-
rentur.

LXXIX. Genus erat hoc pugnae. Expeditae cohortes 1
novissimum agmen claudebant pluresque in locis campes-
tribus subsistebant. Si mons erat ascendendus, facile ipsa 2
loci natura periculum repellebat, quod ex locis superioribus,
qui antecesserant, suos ascendentes protegebant; cum vallis 3
aut locus declivis suberat neque ei, qui antecesserant, moran-
tibus opem ferre poterant, equites vero ex loco superiore in
aversos tela coniciebant, tum magno erat in periculo res.
Relinquebatur, ut, cum eius modi locis esset appropin- 4
quatum, legionum signa consistere iuberent magnoque
impetu equitatum repellerent, eo summoto repente incitati
cursu sese in vallis universi dimitterent, atque ita trans-
gressi rursus in locis superioribus consisterent. Nam tantum 5
ab equitum suorum auxiliis aberant, quorum numerum
habebant magnum, ut eos superioribus perterritos proeliis
in medium reciperent agmen ultroque eos tuerentur; quo-
rum nulli ex itinere excedere licebat, quin ab equitatu
Caesaris exciperetur.

LXXX. Tali dum pugnatur modo, lente atque pau- 1
latim proceditur crebroque, ut sint auxilio suis, subsistunt;
ut tum accidit. Milia enim progressi IV vehementiusque 2
peragitati ab equitatu montem excelsum capiunt ibique una
fronte contra hostem castra muniunt neque iumentis onera
deponunt. Ubi Caesaris castra posita tabernaculaque con- 3
stituta et dimissos equites pabulandi causa animum adver-
terunt, sese subito proripiunt hora circiter sexta eiusdem
diei et spem nacti morae discessu nostrorum equitum iter
facere incipiunt. Qua re animum adversa Caesar refectis 4
legionibus subsequitur, praesidio impedimentis paucas co-

hortes relinquit; hora x subsequi pabulatores, equitesque
revocari iubet. Celeriter equitatus ad cotidianum itineris
5 officium revertitur. Pugnatur acriter ad novissimum agmen,
adeo ut paene terga convertant compluresque milites, etiam
non nulli centuriones, interficiuntur. Instabat agmen Cae-
saris atque universum imminebat.

1 LXXXI. Tum vero neque ad explorandum idoneum
locum castris neque ad progrediendum data facultate con-
sistunt necessario et procul ab aqua et natura iniquo loco
2 castra ponunt. Sed isdem de causis Caesar, quae supra
sunt demonstratae, proelio amplius non lacessit et eo die
tabernacula statui passus non est, quo paratiores essent ad in-
3 sequendum omnes, sive noctu sive interdiu erumperent. Illi
animadverso vitio castrorum tota nocte munitiones pro-
ferunt castraque castris convertunt. Hoc idem postero die
a prima luce faciunt totumque in ea re diem consumunt.
Sed quantum opere processerant et castra protulerant, tanto
aberant ab aqua longius, et praesenti malo aliis malis reme-
4 dia dabantur. Prima nocte aquandi causa nemo egreditur
ex castris; proximo die praesidio in castris relicto universas
5 ad aquam copias educunt, pabulatum emittitur nemo. His
eos suppliciis male haberi Caesar et necessariam subire
deditionem quam proelio decertare malebat. Conatur
tamen eos vallo fossaque circummunire, ut quam maxime
repentinas eorum eruptiones demoretur; quo necessario
6 descensuros existimabat. Illi et inopia pabuli adducti, et
quo essent ad *iter* expeditiores, omnia sarcinaria iumenta
interfici iubent.

1 LXXXII. In his operibus consiliisque biduum con-
sumitur; tertio die magna iam pars operis Caesaris pro-
cesserat. Illi impediendae reliquae munitionis causa hora
circiter IX signo dato legiones educunt aciemque sub
2 castris instruunt. Caesar ab opere legiones revocat, equi-

tatum omnem convenire iubet, aciem instruit; contra opini-
onem enim militum famamque omnium videri proelium
defugisse magnum detrimentum afferebat. Sed eisdem 3
causis, quae sunt cognitae, quo minus dimicare vellet,
movebatur, atque hoc etiam magis, quod spatii brevitas
etiam in fugam coniectis adversariis non multum ad sum-
mam victoriae iuvare poterat. Non enim amplius pedum 4
milibus duobus ab castris castra distabant. Hinc duas
partes acies occupabant duae; tertia vacabat, ad incursum
atque impetum militum relicta. Si proelium committeretur, 5
propinquitas castrorum celerem superatis ex fuga receptum
dabat. Hac de causa constituerat signa inferentibus resis-
tere, prior proelio non lacessere.

LXXXIII. Acies erat Afraniana duplex legionum v, 1
tertium in subsidiis locum alariae cohortes obtinebant;
Caesaris triplex; sed primam aciem quaternae cohortes ex 2
v legionibus tenebant, has subsidiariae ternae et rursus aliae
totidem suae cuiusque legionis subsequebantur; sagittarii
funditoresque media continebantur acie, equitatus latera
cingebat. Tali instructa acie tenere uterque propositum 3
videbatur: Caesar, ne nisi coactus proelium committeret,
ille, ut opera Caesaris impediret. Producitur tamen res,
aciesque ad solis occasum continentur; inde utrique in
castra discedunt. Postero die munitiones institutas Caesar 4
parat perficere; illi vadum fluminis Sicoris temptare, si
transire possent. Qua re animadversa Caesar Germanos 5
levis armaturae equitumque partem flumen traicit crebras-
que in ripis custodias disponit.

LXXXIV. Tandem omnibus rebus obsessi, quartum 1
iam diem sine pabulo retentis iumentis, aquae, lignorum,
frumenti inopia, colloquium petunt, et id, si fieri possit,
semoto a militibus loco. Ubi id a Caesare negatum et, 2
palam si colloqui vellent, concessum est, datur obsidis loco

Caesari filius Afranii. Venitur in eum locum, quem Caesar
3 delegit. Audiente utroque exercitu loquitur Afranius: Non
esse aut ipsis aut militibus succensendum, quod fidem erga
imperatorem suum Cn. Pompeium conservare voluerint.
4 Sed satis iam fecisse officio satisque supplicii tulisse. Per-
pessos omnium rerum inopiam; nunc vero paene ut feras
circummunitos prohiberi aqua, prohiberi ingressu, neque
corpore dolorem neque animo ignominiam ferre posse.
5 Itaque se victos confiteri: orare atque obsecrare, si qui
locus misericordiae relinquatur, ne ad ultimum supplicium
progredi necesse habeat. Haec quam potest demississime
et subiectissime exponit.

1 LXXXV. Ad ea Caesar respondit: Nulli omnium has
partes vel querimoniae vel miserationis minus convenisse.
2 Reliquos enim omnes officium suum praestitisse: *se*, qui
etiam bona condicione, et loco et tempore aequo confligere
noluerit, ut quam integerrima essent ad pacem omnia;
exercitum suum, qui iniuria etiam accepta suisque inter-
fectis, quos in sua potestate habuerit, conservarit et texerit;
illius denique exercitus milites, qui per se de concilianda
pace egerint, qua in re omnium suorum vitae consulendum
3 putarint. Sic omnium ordinum partes in misericordia con-
stitisse, ipsos duces a pace abhorruisse; eos neque colloquii
neque indutiarum iura servasse et homines imperitos et per
4 colloquium deceptos crudelissime interfecisse. Accidisse
igitur his, quod plerumque hominum nimia pertinacia atque
arrogantia accidere soleat, uti eo recurrant et id cupidissime
5 petant, quod paulo ante contempserint. Neque nunc se
illorum humilitate neque aliqua temporis opportunitate pos-
tulare, quibus rebus opes augeantur suae; sed eos exercitus,
quos contra se multos iam annos aluerint, velle dimitti.
6 Neque enim vi legiones alia de causa missas in Hispaniam
septimamque ibi conscriptam, neque tot tantasque classes

paratas neque summissos duces rei militaris peritos. Nihil 7
horum ad pacandas Hispanias, nihil ad usum provinciae
provisum, quae propter diuturnitatem pacis nullum auxilium
desiderarit. Omnia haec iam pridem contra se parari: in 8
se novi generis imperia constitui, ut idem ad portas urbanis
praesideat rebus et duas bellicosissimas provincias absens
tot annis obtineat; in se iura magistratuum commutari, ne 9
ex praetura et consulatu, ut semper, sed per paucos probati
et electi in provincias mittantur; in se etiam aetatis excu-
sationem nihil valere, quin superioribus bellis probati ad
obtinendos exercitus evocentur; in se uno non servari, 10
quod sit omnibus datum semper imperatoribus, ut rebus
feliciter gestis aut cum honore aliquo aut certe sine igno-
minia domum revertantur exercitumque dimittant. Quae 11
tamen omnia et se tulisse patienter et esse laturum; neque
nunc id agere, ut ab illis abductum exercitum teneat ipse,
quod tamen sibi difficile non sit, sed ne illi habeant, quo
contra se uti possint. Proinde, ut esset dictum, provinciis 12
excederent exercitumque dimitterent; si id sit factum, se
nociturum nemini. Hanc unam atque extremam esse pacis
condicionem.

LXXXVI. Id vero militibus fuit pergratum et iu- 1
cundum, ut ex ipsa significatione cognosci potuit, ut, qui
aliquid iusti incommodi exspectavissent, ultro praemium
missionis ferrent. Nam cum de loco et tempore eius rei 2
controversia inferretur, et voce et manibus universi ex vallo,
ubi constiterant, significare coeperunt, ut statim dimitte-
rentur, neque omni interposita fide firmum esse posse, si
in aliud tempus differretur. Paucis cum esset in utramque 3
partem verbis disputatum, res huc deducitur, ut ei, qui ha-
beant domicilium aut possessionem in Hispania, statim, reli-
qui ad Varum flumen dimittantur; ne quid eis noceatur, neu 4
quis invitus sacramentum dicere cogatur, a Caesare cavetur.

1 LXXXVII. Caesar ex eo tempore, dum ad flumen Varum veniatur, se frumentum daturum pollicetur. Addit etiam, ut, quod quisque eorum in bello amiserit, quae sint penes milites suos, eis, qui amiserant, restituatur; militibus aequa facta aestimatione pecuniam pro his rebus dissolvit.
2 Quascumque postea controversias inter se milites habue-
3 runt, sua sponte ad Caesarem in ius adierunt. Petreius atque Afranius, cum stipendium ab legionibus paene seditione facta flagitarentur, cuius illi diem nondum venisse dicerent, Caesar ut cognosceret, postularunt, eoque utrique,
4 quod statuit, contenti fuerunt. Parte circiter tertia exercitus eo biduo dimissa duas legiones suas antecedere, reliquas subsequi iussit, ut non longo inter se spatio castra facerent, eique negotio Q. Fufium Calenum legatum prae-
5 ficit. Hoc eius praescripto ex Hispania ad Varum flumen est iter factum, atque ibi reliqua pars exercitus dimissa est.

NOTES.

(The text of this book being in a very unsettled state, the Appendix 'On the Text' should be consulted throughout.)

The marginal numbers refer to the sections.

CHAP. I.

p. 1. 1 *Caesare*] the text is uncertain and we should perhaps read with H. Nissen *litteris Caesaris a C. Fabio consulibus redditis*, in which case Fabius, who was a trusted legate of Caesar often mentioned in B. G. VIII., must be supposed to have accompanied C. Scribonius Curio who is elsewhere spoken of as the bearer of the letter, as in Dion Cassius XL. 66, XLI. 1; Appian, B. C. II. 32; cp. Cic. Fam. XVI. 11 § 2 *omnino et ipse Caesar amicus noster minaces ad senatum et acerbas litteras miserat et erat adhuc impudens qui exercitum et provinciam invito senatu teneret, et Curio meus illum incitabat.*

consulibus] C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus. The former was a cousin of the C. Marcellus who was consul in 50 and brother of M. Marcellus consul in 51. Caesar is relating the proceedings in the senate house on 1 Jan. 49 B.C.

tribunorum] the tribunes particularly referred to are Q. Cassius Longinus, formerly quaestor to Pompey, and M. Antonius. With great difficulty they persuaded the consuls to read the letter to the senate, but could not induce them to make any definite statement on the immediate subject of the letter (*ex litteris referre ad senatum*). Probably the tribunes and others kept shouting *refer! refer!*, cp. Cic. Cat. I. 20. The tribunes were originally only allowed a seat outside the door of the senate house whence they might watch the proceedings; at a later period, probably in the second century B.C., they gained the privilege of becoming members of the senate and the *ius referendi*.

2 *referunt*] it was usual for the new consuls at the beginning of the year to make a general 'reference' to the senate on public affairs, each senator in turn being asked to state his views, *quid fieri placeat.* I object to Hotoman's *infinite* in place of the corrupt *in civitate* on the ground that if the word had been in ordinary use we should find it elsewhere in the historians or in Cicero, and moreover it is not clear that Gellius, XIV. 7 § 9, actually found the word in Varro from whom he quotes.

audacter ac fortiter] 'with boldness and resolution'.

sententias dicere] 'express their opinions' on the point submitted to them: the presiding magistrate was said *rogare sententias.*

3 *ut fecerint*] = *ut fecistis* in oratio recta. Among the previous occasions referred to, Lentulus may be thinking of the debate in November 50 when the senate voted by 370 to 22 in favour of Curio's proposal, or of the crowd of senators who waited on Caesar during his winter residence at Luca.

gratiam sequantur] cp. *amicitiam sequi* 60 § 5, B. G. VII. 63.

sibi consilium capturum] cp. 76 § 2 *neque sibi separatim a reliquis consilium capturos*, II. 20 § 3 *si id non fecisset, sibi consilium capturos.*

receptum] lit. 'a way of retreat' as in B. G. VI. 9 *ne ad eos Ambiorix receptum haberet:* translate here 'he too could shelter himself under Caesar's friendship and influence'; cp. Liv. XLII. 13 *receptum ad poenitendum.* Some weeks later Caesar made overtures to Lentulus, Cic. Att. VIII. 9 § 4 *Balbus minor ad me venit occulta via currens ad Lentulum consulem missu Caesaris cum litteris, cum mandatis, cum promissione provinciae, Romam ut redeat, cui persuaderi posse non arbitror, nisi erit conventus.*

4 *Scipio*] Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, son of Cornelius Scipio and adopted by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. He was consul with Pompey for the last five months of the year 52, and in that year Pompey married his daughter Cornelia widow of Publius Crassus.

eius] = *Pompei.*

CHAP. II.

1 *aderat*] the sentence is unsatisfactory—whether one reads *aderat* or *aberat:* with *aderat,* meaning 'was in the neighbourhood', Caesar would have expressed himself more logically had he written *haec Scipionis oratio, quod Pompeius aderat, ex ipsius* &c.; while with *aberat* meaning 'was not present in the senate' the *quod* is illogical. On the whole I prefer to retain *aderat* the reading of the MSS. Scipio was known to be

a close political ally of Pompey, and his utterances were not unnaturally regarded as prompted by Pompey, especially as the latter was in the neighbourhood of Rome, though as proconsul and armed with the *imperium* he could not enter the city. A few days before this Pompey had travelled with Cicero from Lavernium (?) to Formiae, apparently on his way to Rome; Cic. Att. VII. 8 § 4; see below § 6 *terrore praesentis exercitus*.

2 *aliquis*] 'some one': Caesar then proceeds to particularise, mentioning Marcellus, Calidius, Rufus. Dr Reid's suggestion *dixerant aliqui* would make the sentence simpler.

primo] 'at first': he afterwards changed his opinion, see below § 5.

M. Marcellus] consul 51, see note on 1 § 1.

ingressus] 'starting with a discourse of this kind'.

de ea re] Caesar's proposals.

p. 2. *quo praesidio*] = *ut eo praesidio*.

3 *M. Calidius*] one of the praetors of 57, and an unsuccessful candidate in the Caesarian interest for the consulship of 50.

ereptis] in the previous year a decree of the senate had been passed that Caesar and Pompey should each furnish a legion for the Parthian war. Pompey undertook to provide the legion which he had previously lent to Caesar. The latter accordingly had to give up this legion as well as to furnish one of his own, thus losing the use of two legions, the first and the fifteenth, while Pompey's forces remained unimpaired: cp. B. G. VIII. 54.

ab eo] one would rather expect *a se*, and *suum*, for *eius periculum*; see note on 35 § 4. It is of course just possible that *ab eo* may mean '*by* him' (Pompey) in which case *eo* and *eius* will refer to different persons.

ne...videretur] 'lest it should appear that P. was holding them back and retaining them near the city with a view to imperil him' (Caesar). The two legions were stationed either at Capua or in Apulia (cp. 14 § 3), hence *ad urbem* is misleading, though no doubt Pompey had some troops with him near Rome: cp. Appian II. 29, Dion XL. 65, XLI. 2 ἐν γὰρ τῷ προαστείῳ τὰς δυνάμεις εἶχε.

retinere] cp. B. G. VIII. 55 *cognoscit...legiones duas...Cn. Pompeio traditas atque in Italia retentas esse*; Cic. Att. VII. 13 A § 2 *spes omnis in duabus insidiose retentis, paene alienis legionibus*; below 9 § 4.

4 *M. Rufus*] M. Caelius Rufus, aedile in 50, a strong partisan of Caesar. Seventeen of his letters to Cicero written in the years 51—48 have been preserved (Fam. VIII.).

paucis fere] 'only a few': Cicero would have written *modo*.

5 *correpti*] 'caught up': tr. 'all these were caught up and assailed with vehement invective by the consul L. Lentulus', cp. Hor. Sat. II. 3. 257 *correptus voce magistri*. The consul's violent language is attested by Plutarch Caes. 30, Λέντλου τοῦ ὑπάτου βοῶντος ὅπλων δεῖν πρὸς ἄνδρα λῃστὴν οὐ ψήφων, though he assigns it to a different part of the day's proceedings: his account is altogether confusing, cp. Pomp. 58 Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ὑπάτου λῃστὴν ἀποκαλοῦντος τὸν Καίσαρα.

pronuntiaturum] the presiding magistrate is said *pronuntiare* 'to put' a motion to the senate to be voted on.

Marcellus] the M. Marcellus of § 2.

conviciis] cp. 23 § 3 *hos omnes productos a contumeliis militum conviciisque prohibet;* above § 5 *convicio L. Lentuli*. The plural is more appropriate where the abuse proceeds from various quarters; so here the reference is to the Pompeian senators generally.

6 *vocibus*] 'expressions', 'language', see below 3 § 5 *quorum vocibus et concursu*. The plural is always used of a startling or otherwise remarkable utterance.

inviti et coacti] these words are not coordinate with *compulsi*, but form a kind of abverbial adjunct to it: 'a large number impelled (*compulsi*) by...against their will and yielding to pressure adopt the opinion of Scipio'. According to Dion XLI. 2 only two, Curio and Rufus, voted against Scipio's proposal. [Plut. Ant. 5 says that many senators were influenced by the terms of Caesar's letter which they thought just and moderate δίκαια καὶ μέτρια. J. S. R.]

ante certam diem] from the expression *erepto semestri imperio* in 9 § 2 we may assume with Lange R. A. III. 406 and Mommsen Rechtsfrage p. 58 that the date in question was July 1st, which would just allow of Caesar's offering himself in person as a candidate for the consulship the requisite time (*trinum nundinum*) before the election. Others take the date to be March 1st.

8 *intercedit*] M. Antonius is chiefly in the writer's thought, hence he begins the sentence with the singular *intercedit* though two nouns follow and the plural *tribuni* in apposition to them: a similar sentence is 'and so *was* also James, and John, the *sons* of Zebedee'. Luke V. 10.

refertur] Scipio's proposal, though carried by an overwhelming majority, could not be embodied in a *senatus consultum* on account of the veto of the tribunes: their intervention provoked a fresh debate. The resolution was however placed on record as an *auctoritas* ἡ γνώμη

συνεγράφη Dion XLI. 3. These proceedings took place on Jan. 2nd, Dion XLI. 2.

dicuntur] at this point, according to Plutarch Caes. 30, a proposal was made by Antony, following the terms of Caesar's dispatch, that both parties should lay down the *imperium*, and to this the senate gave its assent, *πάντες ὁμαλῶς προσεχώρησαν*; but Lentulus and Scipio, acting in Pompey's interest, stoutly opposed this, and the sittings came to an end.

CHAP. III.

1 *misso*] the presiding magistrate used to dismiss the senate with some such words as *nihil vos teneo, patres conscripti.*

ad vesperum] this is the usual accusative; the ablative or rather locative is *vesperi* or *vespere.* The noun *vespera* is archaic and poetic. It was apparently on this day 2 Jan. that the tribunes vetoed a resolution proposing that the senators should put on mourning, a practice usually followed in a dangerous political crisis, but the senators dispensed with the official authorisation, leaving the house for the purpose of changing their garb. Dion XLI. 3, Plut. Caes. 30.

evocantur] are summoned out of the city.

laudat] a word seems wanted here to balance *segniores*; it would be easy to supply *promptos* before *Pompeius.*

2 *ordinum*] they were offered the post of centurion (*ordo*); 'companies' would be a fair, though not quite accurate, modern equivalent for the word here: see more on 46 § 4.

evocantur] used in a slightly different sense from that which it bears in § 1: here 'called out to serve'; such persons are called *evocati* as below § 3.

arcessuntur] this verb and *accerso* which may be of different origin are perpetually confused in the MSS.

3 *ipsum comitium*] 'even the comitium itself': this was a space on the North-Eastern side of the forum originally used for public meetings.

4 *coguntur*] *cogere in senatum* is the regular phrase for summoning members to attend the senate, the attendance being (theoretically) compulsory: cp. Cic. Phil. I. 11 *quid tandem erat caussae cur in senatum hesterno die tam acerbe cogerer?* Caesar here refers to the meeting of the senate on Jan. 5th, there was no meeting on the 3rd and 4th; see note on 5 § 4.

5 *vero*] *vero* in the third clause, like *denique,* denotes the climax.

6 *L. Piso*] L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, consul 58. Caesar married his daughter Calpurnia in 59.

L. Roscius] afterwards sent by Pompey with overtures to Caesar; see note on 8 § 2.

spatii] for the separation of the genitive from its governing noun cp. III. 92 *tantum erat relictum spatii*. The genitive dependent on *sex dies* (instead of *spatium sex dierum*) is perhaps unexampled.

p. 3. 7 *voluntatem*] 'the feeling of the senate': the word is frequently used in a half political sense, denoting the general feeling or sentiment of any body of persons.

CHAP. IV.

1 *omnibus his...opponitur*] 'a stand is made against all these persons, and they are all confronted by speeches from the consul, Scipio and Cato'. Beware of taking *omnibus his* as a neuter.

2 *inimicitiae*] Cato was an unbending and rather narrow-minded Roman of the old school, opposed alike to all political change and to all relaxation of social standards. His enmity to Caesar was therefore natural. For instances of it cp. Plut. Cat. 24, 33.

dolor repulsae] Cato stood for the consulship in 51 but was defeated. His rejection was due, so far as we know, not to any opposition on the part of Caesar who was in Gaul at the time, but to his own impracticability. He bore his defeat with surprising equanimity, Plut. Cat. 49, 50. For the form of the expression cp. Ovid Met. III. 395 *sed tamen haeret amor crescitque dolore repulsae*; Cic. Att. IX. 9 § 1 *tanto plus apud me valere benefici gratiam quam iniuriae dolorem volo*.

Lentulus] he was in such an embarrassed position that Velleius says of him that 'the public safety meant his private ruin'. The previous year he had been suspected of favouring Caesar, Cic. Att. VI. 8 § 2.

regum appellandorum largitionibus] 'by the bounties offered for giving the title of *rex*'. Petty foreign princes were sometimes allowed by the Roman senate to hold the royal title. For this privilege they were ready to pay, and the provincial governor would be the person through whom they would most easily gain the ear of the senate. For instances of such corruption Dr Reid refers to Cic. Sest. 84, Har. resp. 29.

redeat] for the form of the expression cp. B. G. VI. 11 *quorum ad arbitrium iudiciumque summa omnium rerum consiliorumque redeat*, B. C. III. 18 § 2 *ad neminem unum summa imperii redit*: 'to whom should fall the supreme authority'. Lentulus may have based his

assumptions on the fact of his being named Cornelius, as 14 years before another Cornelius Lentulus, on the strength of some real or pretended oracle, had claimed to be the third Cornelius who should hold supreme sway in Rome, the other two having been Cinna and Sulla: Sall. Cat. 47. Doubtless many Romans at this time aspired to military supremacy: cp. Cicero's expression about Pompey Att. IX. 10 § 6, *ita sullaturit eius animus et proscripturit iamdiu.*

3 *spes provinciae atque exercituum*] above *spe exercitus ac provinciarum*, but there is probably no particular reason for the change of number.

necessitudine] cp. note on 1 § 4.

iudiciorum metus] though Plutarch (Pomp. 55) speaks of him as γένους ἕνεκα καὶ δόξης ἄμεμπτος, yet he was threatened with a prosecution for bribery in connection with the consular elections of 52 and was only saved by the intervention of Pompey his son-in-law: cp. Dion XL. 51 Κόιντον Σκιπίωνα πενθερόν τέ οἱ ὄντα καὶ δεκασμοῦ αἰτίαν ἔχοντα προσείλετο...παρ' αὐτοῦ (Πομπηίου) τήν τε ὑπατείαν καὶ τὸ μὴ κατηγορηθῆναι ἀντέλαβε. *iudiciorum metus* does not mean 'fears as to the constitution of the courts of justice' (Moberley).

ostentatio sui] there is probably some corruption in the text as it is difficult to make *potentium* a genitive after *ostentatio*: '*adulatio* is the flattery of Scaevola's friends, *ostentatio sui* the vanity which made him accessible to it: *potentium* seems an error for *potentia eorum*'. J. S. R.

4 *quod neminem volebat*] cp. the well known line of Lucan I. 125 *nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem Pompeiusve parem*; Florus II. 13 and 14 *nec ille (Pompeius) ferebat parem, nec hic superiorem.* Pompey's arrogance and misplaced confidence in himself are constantly referred to, cp. Plut. Pomp. 57.

totum] for this personal use of *totus* cp. B. G. VI. 5 *totus et mente et animo in bellum...insistit*, Cic. Fam. II. 13 *iam me Pompei totum esse scis.*

cum communibus inimicis &c.] the sentence is obscure and the commentators have little or nothing to say about it. Caesar seems to mean that Pompey had reconciled himself with persons who had professed a common enmity for himself and Caesar, after causing the burden of their enmity to fall chiefly on the latter during the time that the two were connected by marriage, i.e. B.C. 59—54. Caesar is probably thinking chiefly of Cato and Cicero, as well as of the great body of respectable persons whom Pompey's want of tact when at the head of affairs in Rome had so far alienated that they looked with suspicion not only on himself but also on Caesar with whom he was associated in

power by the coalition of 60: cp. especially Cicero's letters to Atticus II. 8, 9, 17, 21 § 1 *de re publica quid ego tibi subtiliter? tota periit atque hoc est miserior quam reliquisti, quod tum videbatur eius modi dominatio civitatem oppressisse quae iucunda esset multitudini, bonis autem ita molesta, ut tamen sine pernicie; nunc repente tanto in odio est omnibus, ut quorsus eruptura sit horreamus.* From the instructive letter Fam. I. 9 we find how difficult it was for Cicero to keep on good terms with both Pompey and Caesar, and how any approach that he might make to either of them gave offence to the other.

affinitatis] generally used of connexion by marriage. Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia in 59; she died in Sept. 54.

iniunxerat] 'had imposed', generally of laying a burden on a person; notice that it is here followed by a quasi-personal object *quorum maximam partem*.

5 *infamia*] the discredit of, i.e. attaching to, caused by, the two legions.

Asiae Syriaeque] I know of no parallel to this genitive after *itinere*. KH qu. II. 32 § 13 *Italiae fugam*, but that is less harsh. Perhaps the words should be omitted altogether. [The only parallel I have seen quoted is Val. Flaccus I. 793 *placidae sedis iter;* but *iter salutis*, *gloriae* &c. come very near; so *leti via* &c. J. S. R.]

rem ad arma deduci] 'that the question should be brought to the arbitrament of war'. For the phrase cp. 5 § 5 *res ad otium deduci*, B. G. V. 31 *rem in summum periculum deducant*, B. C. I. 19 § 3.

CHAP. V.

1 *turbate*] this word is of very rare occurrence.

extremi iuris] the farthest or last of their rights, to which all the others lead up, i.e. the most important or fundamental: cf. below § 3 *illud extremum atque ultimum senatus consultum:* but perhaps *extremum* is merely a variation for *summum* = the rigour of their authority.

intercessione] there is perhaps no need to omit this word: 'no opportunity is given the tribunes of retaining, by the exercise of their veto (*intercessione*), the most fundamental of their rights (viz. the right of exercising the veto) which L. Sulla had left them'. Sulla in 88 and 81 took away most of the privileges of the tribunes but left them the right of *intercessio*, subject however to strict limitations; cp. Liv. Epit. 89 *tribunis plebis potestatem minuit et omne ius legum ferendarum ademit;*

Cic. Leg. III. 22 *quam ob rem in ista quidem re vehementer Sullam probo, qui tribunis plebis sua lege iniuriae faciendae potestatem ademerit, auxilii ferendi reliquerit;* Vell. II. 30, Appian B. C. I. 59, 100; see below 7 §§ 2, 3. [Caesar must be exaggerating in his reference to Sulla, if the statements are true that Sulla restricted the tribunes to the *auxilii latio.* One cannot believe that Sulla would have allowed validity to the use of the *intercessio* which these tribunes attempted. J. S. R.]

2 *septimo die*] on Jan. 7th, but they entered on office on Dec. 10th, hence Caesar means on the seventh day after the beginning of the policy inaugurated by the new consuls on Jan. 1st.

quod] this is the object of *respicere* and refers to *de sua salute cogitare;* the words *ac timere* are added as a sort of afterthought.

post octo denique menses] Moberley refers to the case of Tib. Gracchus who was killed in about the eighth month of his tribunate. He might also have referred to M. Livius Drusus who was murdered in the ninth month of his tribunate in B.C. 91. The text however is corrupt.

actionum] cp. Liv. V. 11 *tribuni celebrare actiones:* 'official acts'.

respicere ac timere] the same words in B. G. VIII. 27.

3 *extremum atque ultimum*] so far as there is any difference between these words perhaps *extremum* marks a thing as being the last of a series while *ultimum* brings out in a stronger degree its finality; cp. Cic. Fin. I. 11 *quaeritur, quid sit finis, quid extremum, quid ultimum.*

senatus consultum] this decree, the terms of which are given below, was 'a purely negative measure, the setting aside of constitutional checks which stand in the way of the preservation of the state' (Nissen). It had been issued in 52 and in 63, as well as on other occasions, when the position of affairs was hardly more critical than in this year 49. Caesar is probably trying to mislead his readers; see note on 7 § 5.

omnium salutis] a double genitive after *desperatione* 'amid the general despair of safety'.

sceleratorum audacia] a probable conjecture: 'through the audacity of wicked men'.

quique pro consulibus] 'and those who in the place of consuls' i.e. 'and those proconsuls who'; the noun *proconsul* is merely a convenient form to express the more strictly correct *pro consule.* In decrees of this kind sometimes no magistrates except the consuls are mentioned.

p. 4. 4 *perscribuntur*] decrees were always recorded in writing with the signatures of witnesses appended, who were said *scribendo adesse.*

quibus...potuit] Jan. 3rd, 4th, 7th, are marked C (Comitialis dies) in the Calendar, on which days it was against the rule for a sitting of the senate to be held, but in certain cases this rule could be dispensed with, as e.g. when the senate was summoned late in the day after the *comitia* were over (Cic. Att. I. 14 § 5), or when the day in question was a market day (*nundinae*) or an extraordinary holiday: so on this occasion there was a session of the senate on the 7th as well as on Jan. 1st, 2nd, 5th, 6th. Mommsen, Staatsrecht III. 2, p. 922 foll.

5 *profugiunt*] the two tribunes Antonius and Cassius were accompanied in their flight by Curio and Rufus.

lenissimis] 'his extremely mild demands': it is strange that any editor should retain the MS reading *levissimis*.

hominum] the parties concerned; the people at Rome.

deduci] see note on 4 § 5: 'affairs could be brought to a peaceful settlement'.

CHAP. VI.

1 *extra urbem*] or, as it is elsewhere expressed, outside the *pomerium*, cp. Dion XLI. 3 ὕστερον δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντες ταραχήν τε εἶναι ἔγνωσαν κ.τ.λ. The precise nature of the *pomerium* is disputed but it may be taken in a general way to mean the boundary line of a town or settlement, the ground within which was consecrated and so marked off from the surrounding *ager*. It originated, according to Varro Lingua Latina V. 143, in the old Etruscan habit of drawing a line round a new settlement with a plough and a yoke of oxen; the trench cut by the plough was called the *fossa* and the line of earth thrown up on the inner side the *murus*, then the line or strip of ground behind, i.e. inside (according to some, *outside*) the wall was called the *pos-merium* or *pomerium* (cp. *pomeridianus*); sometimes the word denoted the whole of the interior space, so that *pomerium* and *urbs* were almost equivalent. As the state grew the *pomerium* had to be moved farther outwards, and this was done by Sulla and by Caesar. See chiefly Mommsen's paper 'der Begriff des Pomerium' in his Römische Forschungen, Vol. 2, H. Jordan, Topographie Roms I. 1, p. 166 foll., Nissen, Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieg's, § 2.

The reason for the senate meeting outside the walls was to secure the presence of Pompey who as proconsul and armed with the *imperium* could not enter the city. The place where they met was the temple of Apollo built about 430 B.C. just outside the *porta Carmentalis*; cp. Cic. Att. XV. 3 *illa quae recordaris Lentulo et Marcello consulibus acta in*

aede Apollinis, where he is probably referring to this occasion: cp. Luc. III. 103. Merivale says they met in the temple of Bellona which was also outside the *pomerium*, but this is less likely.

2 *legiones...X*] it is difficult to say how the ten legions are to be reckoned, nor can we be sure that Pompey ever made the statement here attributed to him by Caesar. He probably means the seven legions in Spain, the two taken from Caesar, and the force under Domitius amounting to about one more legion. Mommsen however, R. H. IV. 389 foll., believes that Pompey had about 10 legions in Italy without reckoning the Spanish army, viz. three remaining from the levies of 55, the troops raised in 52, and two withdrawn from Caesar. KH agree in excluding the absent Spanish troops from the account, and suppose the number to be made up by the forces raised by Pompey at the end of 50 (Appian, B. C. II. 31, Plut. Ant. 5) and in the beginning of this year 49. This view of Mommsen's is severely and, I think, justly criticised by M. Stoffel, Histoire de Jules César, I. 207 foll.; cp. Göler Bürgerkrieg, p. 2.

milites] Caesar's own troops; so Appian, B. C. II. 30, says that messengers ἰσχυρίζοντο τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὴν στρατιὰν Καίσαρος τετρυμένην τε πόνῳ καὶ χρόνῳ, καὶ τὰ οἴκοι ποθοῦσαν, μεταθήσεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτε τὰ Ἄλπεια διέλθοιεν: cp. Plut. Caes. 29. There was no truth in the report, except so far as it might be justified by the defection of one of Caesar's most trusted officers, Labienus, which took place about this time.

aut sequantur saltem] 'or at any rate follow him' i.e. if he wanted to advance on Rome. *saltem* is only used here in Caesar: cp. Cic. Att. IX. 6 § 5 *eripe hunc dolorem aut minue saltem.*

3 *Faustus Sulla*] L. Cornelius Sulla Faustus son of the dictator Sulla who when he took the title of Felix gave his twin children the appellatives Faustus and Fausta. He married Pompey's daughter Pompeia: in 46 he was killed in Africa by Caesar who spared his wife and children; cp. B. Af. 95.

Mauritaniam] the north-western portion of Africa corresponding to part of Morocco and Algeria. Bocchus, son of the Bocchus who surrendered Jugurtha to the Dictator Sulla, was king of the eastern portion and his brother (?) Bogud of the western. By means of Faustus Pompey might hope to establish friendly relations with these princes.

4 *Iuba*] King of Numidia. The extent of his dominions is described in exaggerated language by Lucan IV. 670 foll. His political attitude is stated in B. C. II. 25 *huic et paternum hospitium cum Pompeio et simultas cum Curione intercedebat, quod tribunus plebis legem promulgaverat, qua lege regnum Iubae publicaverat;* Dion XLI. 41.

socius] the Romans often granted these titles to friendly foreign kings or chieftains, e.g. B. G. I. 3 Catamantaloedes; 35, 43 Ariovistus; IV. 12 the grandfather of Piso Aquitanus; VII. 31 Ollovico; cp. B. Al. 34 *regna sociorum atque amicorum*. Juba was afterwards declared by Caesar an enemy of the Roman people, but received distinctions and the title of *rex* from Pompey, Dion XLI. 42.

Marcellus...negat] the reason for his objection is doubtful. Moberley says "Marcellus stopped this measure probably because the combination of Bocchus with Juba, even as allies of the senate, would be dangerous; especially considering that a stoppage of the African corn-ships might starve Rome, if events led the two kings to form such a plan". The German editors ignore the difficulty.

in praesentia] I take this as abl. sing. of *praesentia*, so both Merguet and Meusel in their Lexx. s. v.: others regard it as n. pl. of *praesens*. [*in praesens* is first found in Livy, and the final use of *in* apart from some verb such as *venire* to help it out is not classical. J. S. R.]

5 *Philippus*] L. Marcius Philippus, praetor in 44, son of the consul of 56, for whom see below. Cic. Phil. III. 25 calls him *vir patre avo maioribus suis dignissimus*.

perscribuntur] there being no opposition they are passed and recorded.

privatis] since the time of Sulla it had been usual for the consuls and praetors to proceed to their provincial administrations on the expiration of their term of office at Rome, but in 52 it was enacted that for the future a period of five years should elapse between the consulship or praetorship and the provincial administration; the regular succession of provincial governors under this rule would not begin till 48, and meanwhile the provinces had to be assigned to ex-consuls or ex-praetors who had as yet held no provincial governorships. The exact method by which this was to be done cannot now be satisfactorily determined; see Mommsen, Rechtsfrage, p. 45, n. 118. There were in all 14 provinces to dispose of.

Scipioni] see note on 1 § 4. The province of Syria had been assigned to M. Crassus in 55 for 5 years, together with the conduct of the war against the Parthians. In 53 Crassus and his son were defeated and slain. The position of Syria, exposed as it was to the formidable power of the Parthians, sufficiently accounts for the prominence assigned to it.

L. Domitio] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul 54. The governorship of Gaul, the scene of Caesar's long course of victory, was obviously

a difficult post to administer, and was therefore assigned to the most suitable ex-consul available.

Philippus et Cotta] L. Marcius Philippus, consul 56. He was connected by marriage with the Julian family, being the second husband of Atia, mother of Augustus and daughter of Caesar's sister Julia and M. Atius Balbus. This would sufficiently account for his being passed over in favour of the later consul Domitius. Similarly L. Aurelius Cotta, consul 65, was passed over, Caesar's mother having been an Aurelia and possibly Cotta's sister. The following genealogical table will make this note clearer.

C. Iulius Caesar = Aurelia

Iulia = M. Atius Balbus — C. Iulius Caesar (Dictator)

Atia = (1) C. Octavius: (2) L. Marcius Philippus

Augustus — Octavia minor = (1) C. Marcellus: (2) M. Antonius.

privato consilio] 'by private arrangement', with a slight implication of something underhand, and so almost like our word 'job'.

deiciuntur] 'are thrown into the urn': cp. Verg. Aen. v. 490 *convenere viri deiectamque aerea sortem accepit galea.*

6 *praetores*] equivalent to *praetorii*, persons who had held the office of praetor.

neque exspectant] they do not wait for the passing of a law (apparently a *plebiscitum*, cp. *ad populum feratur*) conferring on them the *imperium*. Of course before the passing of the *lex Pompeia* in 52, by which it was enacted that there should be an interval of 5 years between the tenure of office as consul or praetor and the provincial governorship, the *imperium* conferred by the *lex curiata* on the consul or praetor when entering on his consulship or praetorship would not be interrupted, the offices being continuous, and so would cover both the home and the foreign administration; but the magistrates here mentioned whose office had expired some years would in the ordinary course of things require a fresh decree of some sort (see Mommsen, Rechtsfrage, n. 116) conferring the *imperium*. In the words *quod superioribus annis acciderat* Caesar has in his mind the conferring of the *imperium* on the incoming consul or praetor before 52, which *imperium* as stated above would not need renewal at the entry on the provincial governorship: cf. Rechtsfrage, p. 44. It should be remembered that the provincial *imperium* was

more limited in extent than that of the consul or praetor, but was included in it, on the principle of *omne maius continet in se minus.*

paludatique] wearing the *paludamentum* or scarlet cloak appropriated to generals holding the *imperium.*

votis nuncupatis] 'after offering vows'. Festus explains '*vota nuncupata dicuntur quae consules praetores cum in provinciam proficiscuntur faciunt; ea in tabulas praesentibus multis referuntur*': cp. Livy, XXI. 63 *C. Flaminium fugisse ne...auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda paludatus inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret.*

quod ante id tempus accidit numquam] this statement is so demonstrably and even ludicrously untrue that Voss, Nipperdey and others would eject the words altogether. But Caesar who elsewhere in this narrative shows a disregard for truth no doubt relied on his readers having short memories, and I do not see why he should be less likely to make a false statement, if it suited his purpose to do so, than a modern Christian statesman. Before the time of Sulla it had been the regular thing for the consuls to leave the city during their term of office, and although in 81 the *lex Cornelia de provinciis* enacted that they should not leave it till the expiration of their year, yet between that date and 49 there had been five or six instances of the rule being contravened. Caesar however for his own purposes chooses to ignore these. The subject is fully discussed by Mommsen, Rechtsfrage, p. 29 foll., and by Nipperdey, Quaestiones, 128 foll., and in an article in the Rheinisches Museum, XVII. 1862 reprinted in his Opuscula, p. 422 foll. [It was the going in and out of the city and yet retaining the *imperium* which Caesar declared unparalleled. He would never have said that breaking a usage which had only existed since Sulla was *contra omnia vetustatis exempla.* By this recrossing of the *pomerium* after leaving it in military array they became *privati.* J. S. R.]

7 *privati*] I take this word to refer to the consuls and praetors just mentioned who were on the point of leaving the city attended by their lictors and with all the insignia of authority. Caesar invidiously calls them *privati* because they had not had the *imperium* properly conferred on them. KH and Doberenz think that the *proconsules ad urbem* 5 § 3 are meant.

vetustatis] 'former times', 'the past'.

8 *municipiis*] 'municipal towns' whose inhabitants possessed the *civitas sine suffragio.*

CHAP. VII.

p. 5. 1 *temporum iniurias inimicorum*] for the double genitive cp. B. G. I. 19 *sine eius offensione animi;* II. 17 *eorum dierum consuetudine itineris;* III. 18 *superiorum dierum Sabini cunctatio.*

deductum ac depravatum] *deducere* to lead aside or astray, *depravare* to make crooked, distort: tr. 'had been led astray and his judgement warped'.

invidia...suae] 'through jealousy and a desire to depreciate his (Caesar's) credit'.

cuius] = *cum eius;* the *cum* being concessive, 'although' or 'whereas'.

2 *novum*] to inflict armed violence on a tribune would be a most heinous offence; in fact Cicero says there was an old law that anyone who struck a tribune was punishable with death. It does not appear however that on this occasion any actual violence was used; cp. Cic. Fam. XVI. 11 *Antonius quidem noster et Q. Cassius nulla vi expulsi ad Caesarem cum Curione profecti erant:* even in Appian, B. C. II. 33, where great stress is laid on the insult done to the tribunes, the consuls are represented as only using violent language; *οἱ ὕπατοι Μάρκελλός τε καὶ Λέντλος ἐκέλευον τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκστῆναι τοῦ συνεδρίου, μή τι καὶ δημαρχοῦντες ὅμως πάθοιεν ἀτοπώτερον*; nor does Antony complain of more than *ὕβρις*: cp. Plut. Ant. 5 *Λέντλος ὑπατεύων ἐξέβαλε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν Ἀντώνιον*: Caes. 31 *οἱ περὶ Λέντλον οὐκ εἴων ὑπατεύοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς Ἀντώνιον καὶ Κουρίωνα προπηλακίσαντες ἐξήλασαν ἀτίμως*: cp. Cic. Phil. II. 51 foll.; Suet. Caes. 31.

in re publica] "as often, an attributive phrase to *exemplum*, hence not *in rem publicam*". J. S. R.

notaretur] Madvig cj. *vetaretur*, but this use of *veto* is not elsewhere found in Caesar, and seems to be confined to poetry and later prose, cp. Tac. Hist. I. 22 *mathematici genus hominum quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.* The slight harshness of *notaretur* is softened by the proximity of *opprimeretur* on which the chief stress of the sentence lies.

restituta] by Pompey in his first consulship B.C. 70. The word *armis* which occurs in the MSS. after *annis* I omit as an obvious slip of the copyist.

3 *Sullam*] see note on 5 § 1: the statement in the text is not strictly correct, as Sulla did not leave the tribunes the right of veto unimpaired.

nudata...tamen] *nudata potestate* is a concessive abl. absolute 'though he had stripped' followed by *tamen*; cf. Cic. Att. VII. 18 § 2 *Caesarem quidem L. Caesare cum mandatis de pace misso tamen aiunt acerrime delectum habere* 'although he had sent'.

4 *videatur*] 'is supposed to have restored', 'has the reputation of having restored'.

dona...habuerint] the privilege of inviolability. The text is probably corrupt.

5 *quotienscumque*] the decree was passed in the years 121, 100, 83, 63, 52.

qua...vocatus] the general effect of the *senatus consultum ultimum* is thus summarized by Sallust, Cat. 29 *ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxima permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiaeque imperium atque iudicium summum habere: aliter sine populi iussu nullius earum rerum consuli ius est.* With Caesar's expression cp. Liv. Epit. 61 *ex senatus consulto vocato ad arma populo;* Cic. de orat. II. 132 *cum ex senatus consulto ad arma vocasset.*

in perniciosis legibus] this would apply to the years 120 and 100 when radical changes in the law had been proposed by C. Gracchus and L. Apuleius Saturninus. Whether their laws were really *perniciosae* is another matter.

in vi tribunicia] this would also apply to the same two years. In the case of Tib. Gracchus B.C. 133 apparently no such decree was passed. "The murder of Tib. Gracchus and his 300 followers had not even a semblance of legality. Plut. Tib. Gracch. 19 distinctly says that the consul Scaevola refused to allow the *SCtum* to be passed. Hence *consulem languentem* in Cic. T. D. IV. 51; *in gerenda re segnior* p. Domo 91; the other accounts in Val. Max. III. 2 17 all I think agree." J. S. R.

in secessione populi...occupatis] as in 121 when the Aventine was occupied by an armed multitude, Liv. Epit. 61. Caesar may also be thinking of the well-known *secessiones populi* in 342 when M. Valerius Corvus was appointed dictator, and in 287 when Q. Hortensius was appointed, for, though the appointment of a dictator was not quite the same thing as the *senatus consultum ultimum* by which the senate empowered the higher magistrates to secure the safety of the state, yet the practical effect was much the same, i.e. the ordinary laws were suspended. The dictatorship was not employed after 202 till revived by Sulla in 82.

templis] this may refer to the occupation of the Capitol by Tib. Gracchus in 133 and by Saturninus in 100 (KH).

casibus] 'by the fate that befel'. Tib. Gracchus was killed with about 300 others in a riot, the opposite party being headed by P. Scipio Nasica; his brother Gaius in 121 attempted with one attendant to fly from the pursuit of his enemies, but they were overtaken and slain, or, according to another account, committed suicide; Saturninus was slain with the praetor Servilius Glaucia in the Curia Hostilia by an armed force under the consul C. Marius.

docet] 'he points out to them'.

illo tempore] 'on this occasion' i.e. January 49.

6 *IX annis*] B.C. 58—50 inclusive. For the ablative of 'time within which' events happen, cp. 46 § 1 *cum esset pugnatum continenter horis quinque*, 47 § 3 *quinque horis praelium sustinuissent.*

proelia secunda] the phrase is regarded almost as a single word, to which the adjective *plurima* is attached; cp. B. G. VII. 36 *equestri praelio levi.*

Germaniamque] by his defeat of the Suebi and other German tribes bordering on the Rhine Caesar had practically 'pacified' Germany and prevented any fresh rising.

7 *legionis XIII*] B. G. VIII. 54 *in eius* (*legionis XV*) *locum XIII legionem in Italiam mittit* (from Avaricum). The legion had been levied in 57, cp. B. G. II. 2.

initio tumultus] probably early in December, assuming that Nissen Ausbruch § 6 is right in his view that Caesar regarded the proceedings of the first week of December as the beginning of the *tumultus*, when the consul Marcellus laid upon Pompey the duty of defending the state by employing the forces that he had under his command and levying others: Plut. Pomp. 59. It was not till 9 Jan. that the senate issued its formal *decretum tumultus*.

iniurias defendere] 'repel', 'ward off': frequently so used; cp *defendere bellum* in B. G. I. 44, II. 29, VI. 23; *defendere vim* B. C. III. 110: *propulsare* is similarly used, as in B. G. VI. 15 *iniurias illatas propulsarent.*

CHAP. VIII.

1 *cognita militum voluntate*] this may mean either 'having ascertained the feeling of the troops', or 'being assured of the good will of the troops', according to the indefinite meaning of *voluntas*; cp. § 7.

Ariminum] now Rimini, a Latin colony founded 268 B.C. Caesar

distinctly says that it was here that he first met the fugitive tribunes, and Suetonius, Caes. 33, and Dion XLI. 4 agree with this statement, from Appian B. C. II. 33, 34 one would gather that they came to him at Ravenna and that after his interview with them he crossed the Rubicon and occupied Ariminum. For the probable dates of these events see note on 11 § 4.

hibernis] the winter quarters of the legions are stated in B. C. VIII. 54. C. Trebonius was in command of four among the Belgae, and C. Fabius of four more among the Aedui. From the subsequent movements of these troops it will appear probable that Caesar's orders were sent some weeks previously and not on his arrival at Ariminum.

2 *L. Caesar*] he came as Pompey's envoy, accompanied by the praetoı L. Roscius Fabatus. He was of a different branch of the Julian family to the Dictator. According to Drumann his great great grandfather was brother to Caesar's great grandfather. His father, Caesar's legate, who was consul in 64, is mentioned B. G. VII. 64.

reliquo sermone] the introductory remarks that were considered polite among the Romans, as now in the East, before the visitor touches on the real purpose of his visit. J. S. R.

cuius rei causa] these wòrds must be taken in sense with what follows 'he explains to him &c. and this was the real cause of his visit'. J. S. R.

privati officii mandata] 'instructions in a matter of private obligation': the phrase does not mean much more than 'instructions of an informal nature'. He had no writings to show.

p. 6. 3 *purgatum*] notice the omission of *esse*, which is common in Plautus and Cicero after *volo*.

in suam contumeliam vertat] 'should construe as an affront to himself'.

rei publicae dimittere] dative of advantage; 'give up in the interest of the commonwealth': Caesar uses *condonare* in a similar sense, B. G. I. 20 *uti et rei publicae iniuriam et suum dolorem eius voluntati ac precibus condonet*, 'forget the wrong done to the state and his own indignation in consideration of his good-will and entreaties'. Dr Reid suggests that *causa*, written compendiously *cā*, may have fallen out after *rei publicae*.

nocere se speret] 'hopes that he is injuring', to be distinguished from *nociturum se speret*.

4 *excusatione Pompei*] as *excusare aliquem* is 'to free a person from blame', 'to exonerate', so these words may mean 'an exoneration of

Pompey'; in which case tr. 'he adds a few remarks of this kind the while making excuses for Pompey': but LS take *Pompei* to be subjective genitive 'accompanied with Pompey's excuses'.

eadem...demonstrat] 'the praetor Roscius lays substantially the same proposals before Caesar and in the same language, and makes it clear that he received them from Pompey': the use of the word *commemorasse* shows that the instructions were oral, not written.

CHAP. IX.

1 *nihil*] adverbial accusative 'in no respect'.

nactus] causal 'since he had found'.

homines] viz. Roscius and L. Caesar.

graventur] cp. B. G. I. 35 *ut in colloquium venire invitatus gravaretur* 'object', 'think it too much trouble'.

si...possint] 'if haply they might'.

2 *primam*] 'of first importance'; cp. Sall. Cat. 36 *otium atque divitiae quae prima mortales putant.*

populi beneficium] the *plebiscitum* carried on the proposal of the tribunes in March 52, which allowed Caesar to stand for the consulship in his absence at the expiration of the usual interval of 10 years since his last consulship in 59. As the consular elections took place in July this decree implied, though it was not expressly stated, that Caesar should retain his provincial governorship from the end of Feb. to the end of Dec. 49. By the later *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum* the old rule requiring a personal candidature was re-affirmed; see Introduction § 15, and Appendix II. to my edition of B. G. VIII.

per contumeliam] 'by way of insult'; cp. Suetonius, Caes. 22 *negante quodam per contumeliam facile hoc ulli feminae fore.*

semenstri imperio] assuming that Caesar's provincial governorship did not terminate till 31 Dec. 49, it would follow that six months of his *imperium* would be sacrificed if he had to return at the beginning of July to canvass in person for the consulship. See note on 2 § 7 *ante certam diem.*

cuius absentis] = *cum eius* (or *sui*) *absentis* 'though the people had directed that his candidature should be allowed in his absence at the ensuing *comitia*'; i.e. at the *comitia* which were to take place in the summer of 49: cp. Suet. Caes. 26 *egit cum tribunis plebis collegam se Pompeio destinantibus id potius ad populum ferrent ut absenti sibi quandoque imperii tempus expleri coepisset petitio secundi consulatus*

daretur, ne ea causa maturius et imperfecto adhuc bello decederet. [Is it fanciful here to see in the use of the words *expleri coepisset* in place of the more natural *expletum esset* a vague reference to the strict termination of the proconsular command at the end of Feb. 49, which might however without illegality be prolonged to 31 Dec. 49?] The command was conferred on Caesar for 5 years from 1 Mar. 59, but Caesar instead of entering on it at that date, which he probably might have done although he was at the time consul, preferred, in obedience to the directions of the Cornelian law by which a consul was obliged to remain in the city during his year of office, to enter on his proconsular command on 1 Jan. 58. Reckoning from this date the two periods of 5 years would not expire till 31 Dec. 49. Cp. Plut. Caes. 29, App. II. 25.

proximis] *proximus* is 'next preceding' or 'next ensuing', here the latter as in III. 82 § 5, the former in B. G. VII. 67.

3 *omnes*] all in command on either side: Caelius writing to Cicero in Sept. 50 (Fam. VIII. 14 § 2) says *fert tamen* (*Caesar*) *illam condicionem ut ambo exercitus tradant:* cp. Suet. Caes. 29 *senatum litteris deprecatus est ne sibi beneficium populi adimeretur, aut ut ceteri quoque imperatores ab exercitibus discederent.*

4 *retineri legiones II*] see notes on 2 § 3.

5 *quonam...pertinere*] cp. Roby § 1782; questions, if part of the continuous report of a speech, are put in the infinitive, if of the first or third person; in the subjunctive, if of the second person.

ad omnia descendere] for this derived sense of *descendere* 'have recourse to' cp. Cic. Att. IX. 18 § 3 *si sibi consiliis nostris uti non liceret, usurum quorum posset, ad omniaque esse descensurum;* B. G. VII. 33 *ne tanta civitas...ad vim atque arma descenderet;* above 5 § 3 *quo... nunquam ante descensum est,* B. C. III. 9 § 3 *ad extremum auxilium descenderunt. ad omnia* 'to anything'; so *omnia pati = quidvis pati.*

in suas provincias] the two Spanish provinces, Hispania citerior and ulterior, constituted B.C. 197. They were bestowed on Pompey for 5 years in 55.

ipsi exercitus dimittant] in or. recta *nos exercitus dimittamus,* 'let us (i.e. Caesar's party) dismiss our armies'.

libera comitia] 'free elections'. Caesar means it to be inferred that the elections would be overawed by the presence of Pompey with troops in the neighbourhood of Rome.

omnis res publica] 'the whole conduct of the commonwealth'.

6 *quo fiant*] *quo,* as a final conjunction, being only used by Caesar with comparatives, *ut* must be mentally supplied before *certisque condicionibus*

(KH). Dr Reid suggests that *magis* may have fallen out after *certisque*, cp. B. G. VI. 26 *excelsius magisque directum*.

p. 7. *omnes controversiae*] 'all the points in dispute'.

CHAP. X.

1 *Capuam*] Teanum in Campania and not Capua was the scene of the conference between Pompey and Caesar's envoys; Cic. Att. VII. 13 B § 3, 14 § 1 *L. Caesar mandata Caesaris detulit ad Pompeium a. d. VIII Kalendas cum is esset cum consulibus Teani*. Cicero saw L. Caesar the same day 23 Jan. at Minturnae evidently on his way to the meeting place Teanum. Immediately after the conference Pompey left for Venafrum. The conference seems to have been renewed at Capua on the 25th; see note on 10 § 4.

3 *in Galliam excederet*] this is not really a ὕστερον πρότερον though it looks like it. Caesar might of course return to Gaul and yet retain possession of Ariminum. The Pompeians wanted the hostile garrison removed from Ariminum, and no doubt from the other towns, Pisaurum, Ancona, Arretium, the news of the capture of which by Caesar had reached Rome a week before. See note on 11 § 4.

CHAP. XI.

1 *iniqua*] the terms were unfair in Caesar's view for this reason, that he was to disband his army and return to Gaul, while Pompey who was to go to Spain was to be allowed to retain the two legions which did not rightfully belong to him, having been taken from Caesar (*legiones alienas*). We must suppose that there was some stipulation of this kind in the ultimatum sent by Pompey. The effect of it would be that Pompey would have an armed force in Italy while Caesar would have none. I cannot understand why Paul should substitute *absentem* for *alienas*. KH seem to go equally astray in denying that *provincias* means the Spanish provinces.

dilectus habere] understand *ipsum* again from the last sentence: 'to want Caesar's army disbanded but to go on levying troops himself'. As Caesar was pushing forward his troops and occupying towns in N. Italy it was hardly unfair of Pompey to go on with his levies.

2 *peracto consulatu Caesaris*] 'when Caesar's consulship was over': it is argued that in neglecting to fix a date for his promised departure, Pompey had secured himself against a charge of breaking his word even

if he should stay in Italy till Caesar's consulship was over, that is, till the beginning of 47. But the text is probably faulty, and there is little point in the reference to the *end* of Caesar's office. I should like to read *si peractis consularibus comitiis non profectus esset.* Caesar would then refer to the possibility of Pompey's remaining in Italy at the head of an army till after the consular elections and so influencing their result.

3 *vero*] introduces the climax.

accessurum] note the omission of *se*.

4 *itaque...occupat*] Nissen remarks that in this paragraph Caesar distorts the sequence of events in an incredible way. The news of the capture of these towns reached Rome before Cicero left the city, which he did on the 18th, cp. Att. IX. 10 § 4, Fam. XVI. 12 § 2. Yet Caesar here says that he did not occupy them till after he had received Pompey's reply, which could not have reached him before the 29th! The course of events was somewhat as follows. The tribunes were expelled from the senate on 7 Jan.; news of this reached Caesar at Ravenna on the 10th; he at once advanced, crossed the Rubicon on the 11th and occupied Ariminum on the 12th, where he met the fugitive tribunes. Here he harangued his troops, dwelling on the insult done to the sacred tribunicial office. Without delay he pushed forward detachments of troops to occupy Arretium and the coast towns. Meanwhile Pompey not having yet heard of the crossing of the Rubicon sent L. Caesar and Roscius with proposals to Caesar, whom they found at Ariminum on or about the 17th. About the 19th Caesar sent them back again to Pompey with whom they had an interview at Teanum on the 23rd. After a further deliberation at Capua on the 25th the envoys returned to Caesar at Ariminum, arriving there about the 29th. The news of Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon and capture of the Italian towns, brought presumably by successive messengers, reached Rome, as stated above, before the 18th, probably on the 15th, 16th, and 17th, and consequently *after* Pompey's first mission. I have here given a brief summary of M. Stoffel's careful investigations into the perplexing chronology of this period.

cohortibus V] these, with the two remaining at Ariminum and the three despatched to the three coast towns, make up the legion under Caesar's command.

Arretium] Arezzo, on the via Flaminia about 150 miles from Rome and 40 miles S.E. of Florence. By this bold strategic movement Caesar commanded the main route through Etruria. If Antony left Ariminum

on the 12th, that is, immediately after his own and Caesar's arrival there, he would reach Arretium on the 15th.

Pisaurum] Pisaro, on the coast 22 miles from Ariminum.

Fanum] sometimes called Fanum Fortunae, Tac. Hist. III. 50, now Fano, about 8 miles from Pisaurum.

Anconam] Ancon (Ἀγκών) or Ancona, the latter more usual in prose, founded about 380 by the Syracusans, on the coast 32 miles from Fanum. On the importance of these towns, commanding as they did the main routes to the north of Italy, see Merivale II. 142.

CHAP. XII.

1 *Iguvium*] now Gubbio, in the Umbrian Apennines on the via Flaminia 50 miles from Fanum.

Thermum praetorem] Q. Minucius Thermus propraetor of Asia for two years 52—50. Cicero addressed 5 letters to him which are still extant, Fam. XIII. 53—57. The term *praetor* is incorrectly applied to him by Caesar, cp. 6 § 6, where most editors alter *praetores* to *praetorii*, though they have nothing to say on this passage.

Curionem...mittit] Curio's arrival at Iguvium is placed by M. Stoffel on 20 Jan.: Caesar would then hear of his success on the 21st.

2 *diffisus*] *diffido* is probably only used with a dative in classical Latin; see below on *confisus*.

municipii voluntati] contrast § 3 *municipiorum voluntatibus*, cp. note on 2 § 5.

summa omnium voluntate] 'with the enthusiastic goodwill of the inhabitants'.

3 *confisus...voluntatibus*] *voluntatibus* is probably the ablative, though *confido* often takes the dative. The distinction at any rate in Caesar is that the dative expresses the person in whom one feels confidence, while the ablative rather expresses the thing on the ground of which one feels confidence, and may be classed among ablatives of "efficient cause, ground, influence" Roby § 1228; cf. B. C. III. 83 § 1 *Scipio affinitate Pompei confideret*. Caesar could not have written *Cassius fidei magis quam virtuti legionum confidebat* B. Al. 61; in B. C. III. 24 § 1 *virtute* should be read.

praesidiis] Arretium, Fanum, Ancona, Iguvium. The withdrawal of these garrisons and their concentration at some pre-arranged place, perhaps Ancona itself, would be a work of time. If the order was dispatched on the 22nd (cp. note on 12 § 1), Antony, who was farthest

off at Arretium, would receive it on the next day, and starting on the 24th would reach Ancona on or about 1 Feb.

Auximum] now Osimo, 11 miles S. of Ancona. The situation is almost impregnable, traces of the old walls still exist.

p. 8. *Attius*] P. Attius Varus, one of the ablest of Pompey's officers.

Piceno] a district of Italy lying between the Adriatic and the Apennines, extending from the river Aesis (Esino) on the north to the town of Pinna (*Penne*) on the south. The inhabitants were called *Picentes*.

CHAP. XIII.

1 *decuriones*] members of the council of a muncipal town, usually 100 in number.

sui iudicii] 'the matter is not one for them to decide', 'does not lie within their competence' or 'discretion'; cf. 35 § 3 *neque sui iudicii neque suarum esse virium decernere:* an instance of the genitive as an 'invariable secondary predicate', Roby § 1282. The phrase is originally derived from the law courts; cp. Cic. Fin. II. 36 *nihil enim possumus iudicare, nisi quod est nostri iudicii. in quo frustra iudices solent, cum sententiam pronuntiant, addere, si quid mei iudicii est.*

posteritatis] 'the future'.

2 *ex...profugit*] cp. 12 § 2 *ex urbe educit et profugit;* the *ac* connects the two words rather less closely than *et:* tr. 'and so', 'and thereupon'. See Lucan II. 466:

> *Varus, ut admotae pulsarunt Auximon alae,*
> *per diversa ruens neglecto moenia tergo*
> *qua silvae, qua saxa, fugit.*

3 *ex primo ordine*] the first century of the first maniple of the first cohort, the century (as also the centurion) being frequently called *ordo*, as below § 4.

4 *primi pili centurio*] the *triarii*, the third line in the old Republican army consisting of *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*, were also called *pilani* from having been originally armed with the *pilum*, for which the *hasta* was afterwards substituted. In Caesar's time all soldiers carried the *pilum*. Each maniple of the *triarii* was called *pilum*, and the two centurions of each maniple were called *centurio primi pili prior* and *posterior* respectively. They would be men of considerable military experience: cp. Gow, Companion, § 172. It may be observed that

these titles of the centurions were the only relics of the old military organisation that were left at the end of the Republic.

qui...duxerat] Caesar expresses himself rather obscurely. The meaning seems to be that Pupius was an old officer of Pompey's eastern army settled in Picenum, who had been allowed his old rank in the new hastily raised levies. These levies are not regarded as properly an *exercitus Pompei;* they are only *milites Attiani*, a somewhat contemptuous title.

CHAP. XIV.

1 *quibus...nuntiatis*] the sequence of events, not clearly marked here by Caesar, was as follows. On the news of Caesar's advance, which reached Rome by the 17th, such panic ensued that Pompey and the leading members of his party fled in confusion from the city, neglecting to secure the money deposited in the treasury; cp. Cic. Att. VII. 15 § 3 (written 26 Jan.) *sumus enim flagitiose imparati cum a militibus tum a pecunia quam quidem omnem non modo privatam, quae in urbe est, sed etiam publicam, quae in aerario est, illi* (for Caesar) *reliquimus:* on 8 Feb. he writes (Att. VII. 21 § 2) *VII idus Febr.* (7 Feb.) *Capuam C. Cassius tribunus pl. venit, attulit mandata ad consules, ut Romam venirent, pecuniam de sanctiore aerario auferrent, statim exirent.* It appears from Caesar that Lentulus went back for this purpose, opened the treasury, and forthwith fled, apparently without taking any money, terrified by the report that Caesar was close at hand; cp. Cic. Att. VIII. 3 § 4 (written 19 Feb.) *non pecunia omnis et publica et privata adversario tradita?* Florus II. 13 § 21 says that Caesar on his subsequent entry *aerarium quoque sanctum quod...iussit effringi...ante rapuit quam imperium.*

invasit] for the absolute use KH quote Sall. Cat. 10 *ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit;* a similar use of *incedere* occurs B. C. III. 101 § 3 *tantus...timor incessit ut* etc.

aerarium] the treasury was in the temple of Saturn; by the *sanctius aerarium* is meant a special chamber in the treasury in which was deposited in the form of bars of gold the revenue from the *vicesima manumissionum* or tax of 5% on the value of every manumitted slave.

proferendam] cf. Cic. p. Rosc. Com. 29 *HS IↃↃↃ ex arca proferebas.* The formal word for giving a grant from the treasury was *erogare.*

iam iamque] sometimes *iam iam* is used; with this passage cp. Cic. Att. VII. 20 § 1 (written 15 Feb.) *at illum* (Caesar) *ruere nuntiant et iam*

iamque adesse. With *Caesar* supply *nuntiabatur* from the following plural.

2 *hunc Marcellus*] as stated above the consuls left on the 18th, Pompey on the 17th.

3 *Apulia*] Appian says twice (B. C. II. 29, 31) that the two legions wintered in Capua: possibly they were stationed there first and moved to Apulia later on. Cicero no doubt refers to these legions in Att. VII. 12 § 2 *ille iter Larinum; ibi enim cohortes et Luceriae et Teani reliquaque in Apulia.* That they were not all in one town is shown by the word *disposuerat* 'had distributed'. Stoffel I. 204.

4 *citra*] 'on this' (i.e. the Roman) 'side of Capua'.

omnibus videtur] 'it is considered by all': *nihil tutum esse* is acc. and inf.; beware of taking *nihil* as subject of *videtur.*

sese colligunt] like our word 'to rally' the phrase *se colligere* may be used in the literal sense 'to collect together', or in the derived 'to collect oneself' (like our slang phrase 'to pull oneself together'); here it is used rather in the latter sense. The subject of the verbs is to be drawn from the context—Pompey and the consuls etc.

lege Iulia] the *lex Iulia agraria* proposed and carried by Caesar in his consulship 59, by which the *campus Stellatis* and *ager Campanus* were distributed into lots and assigned to 20,000 poor Roman burgesses with three or more children; Suet. Caes. 20. Pompey wanted Cicero to assist in the levy which was not a very successful one; cp. Cic. Att. VII. 14 § 2 *me Pompeius Capuam venire voluit et adiuvare delectum in quo parum prolixe respondent Campani coloni;* 21 § 1 *haec, Capuae dum fui, cognovi: nihil in consulibus, nullum usquam delectum;* 23 *quod quaeris, hic quid agatur, tota Capua et omnis hic delectus iacet.*

gladiatores] Caesar kept a training school (*ludus*) for gladiators at Capua. Pompey wished to enlist them in his army, but public feeling was so strong against the employment of such men in warfare that he relinquished the plan. As it was feared that they might rise he distributed them for custody among the householders of Capua: Cic. Att. VII. 14 § 2 *gladiatores Caesaris, qui Capuae sunt,...sane commode Pompeius distribuit binos singulis patribus familiarum. scutorum in ludo IƆƆ fuerunt: eruptionem facturi fuisse dicebantur.* Caesar wrote a letter to Cicero about them, Att. VIII. 2 § 1.

p. 9. *atque*] 'and moreover', connecting into one whole the two clauses *spe libertatis confirmat* and *his equos attribuit;* then comes another clause with perfect tense *et se sequi iussit.*

5 *conventus Campani*] 'of the burgess-body at Capua': *conventus*=

civium Romanorum in provinciis societas Meusel Lex. s.v. Notice that *Campanus* is the adjective belonging to the noun *Capua* as well as to *Campania*. But the reading here is doubtful.

CHAP. XV.

1 *progressus*] probably on 4 Feb.

omnem...percurrit] this evidently implies more than a march straight through Picenum from Auximum to Asculum, and is so far an argument in favour of his occupation of Firmum and Truentum; see note on 16 § 1.

praefecturae] one of the three classes of Italian towns, the others being *coloniae* and *municipia:* they were so called because their administration was controlled by the *praetor urbanus* who sent out annually as his representative a *praefectus iure dicundo*. Most of the *praefecturae* of which there is any record were in Latium and Campania. Dr Reid points out that besides these well known communities which were few in number there seems to have been another less important but more numerous class of *praefecturae* which may be roughly described as being offshoots from colonies (MM IV. 9), and Caesar probably here refers to these as well as the others.

omnibus rebus] 'with every necessary'; for this and the juxtaposition of *recipere* and *iuvare* cp. B. G. II. 3 *oppidis recipere et frumento ceterisque rebus iuvare;* B. C. III. 29 § 1 *Antonium recepit omnibusque rebus iuvit.*

2 *Cingulo*] cp. Cic. Att. VII. 11 § 1 (written between Jan. 17th and 22nd) *Cingulum nos tenemus*, 13 b § 3 (24 Jan.) *quid agat...P. Attius Cinguli:* hence Attius must have been at Cingulum before he occupied Auximum, cp. 12 § 3. The town (now Cingoli) is in N. Picenum about 15 miles S.W. of Auximum.

Labienus] Caesar's able and trusted officer who deserted to Pompey towards the end of January.

constituerat] probably 'settled' not 'founded'. Labienus may have settled some of the Pompeian veterans there.

veniunt] with *Cingulo* abl. of place whence; cp. above *Auximo progressus.*

cupidissime] 'with the utmost devotion': *cupidus, cupiditas* are sometimes used of party spirit or devotion to a party; cp. Holden on Cic. Planc. 43, Phil. II. 52 *quid cupide a senatu, quid temere, fiebat.*

3 *legio XII*] this was one of the legions under Fabius stationed among

the Aedui, perhaps at Matisco (Mâcon). Stoffel reckons that it would take it 35 days to march from Mâcon to where it overtook (*consequitur*) Caesar between Auximum and Asculum, a distance of about 620 miles. Hence he concludes that the courier summoning the legion must have been sent from Ravenna as early as 21 Dec.

proficiscitur] Caesar probably marched by Firmum (Fermo) a few miles from the coast, and Truentum a town at the mouth of the Truentus (Tronto). See on 16 § 1.

Asculum] Ascoli on the Tronto, destroyed in the social war 91. LS are wrong in referring to Florus I. 18 § 9, as the town there spoken of is Asculum or Ausculum in Apulia where there was a battle between Pyrrhus and the Romans.

Spinther] P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, aedile 63 (Sall. Cat. 47), consul 57. He was a firm friend and supporter of Cicero.

X cohortibus] this expression is used in preference to the more obvious *una legione* no doubt because these cohorts were contingents from different legions, or recently levied at different times and places and not yet incorporated into one homogeneous body: cp. B. G. V. 9.

adventu] Stoffel makes it appear probable that *adventus* here signifies 'approach' rather than 'arrival', as Lentulus seems to have left Asculum on the 5th while Caesar did not reach it till the 8th. The addition too of *cognito* rather supports this view; and see note on 16 § 2, 30 § 5.

4 *Rufum*] L. Vibullius Rufus, a Pompeian but highly respected by Caesar into whose hands he twice fell, once at Corfinium 34 § 1, and again in Spain III. 10 § 1 and I. 86 § 3.

hominum] 'the people there', 'the inhabitants': cp. 5 § 5.

5 *Camerino*] a town in the Umbrian Apennines, now Camerino, situated on the road to Ancona.

Lucilium Hirrum] one of the tribunes of 53.

excipit] 'takes up', picks up': cp. B. G. VII. 28 *quos ille...ex fuga excepit*.

XIII] Pompey in a letter to Cicero of 10 Feb. (or, according to M. Stoffel, the 11th) says *is* (Q. Fabius) *nuntiat L. Domitium cum suis cohortibus XII et cum cohortibus XIV, quas Vibullius adduxit, ad me iter habere;...C. Hirrum cum V cohortibus subsequi:* thus making the total of Vibullius' and Hirrus' forces 19 cohorts, whereas Caesar makes the number 13. Caesar does not say how many cohorts Vibullius received from Lentulus nor how many he got together from the levies

(*quas potest contrahit*). It is possible that there may be some corruption in the MSS, and if there is not, the discrepancy need not surprise us much, considering the difficulty of communication in those days and the absence of official documents.

6 *Domitium Ahenobarbum*] cp. note on 6 § 5. According to Appian II. 32, 38 he brought with him to Corfinium in January a force of 4000 men which he had apparently raised with a view to his governorship of Gaul, to which he had been appointed as Caesar's successor. This force was divided into 12 cohorts, see note on 17 § 2.

Corfinium] this important stronghold was situated in the country of the Paeligni on the site of the modern town of Pentima, in a plain about 1100 feet above the sea-level, surrounded by lofty mountains. It was on the via Valeria, and the river Aternus (Aterno or Pescara) flowed to the north of it. A few miles south was Sulmo (Solmona), the birthplace of Ovid.

magnis itineribus] 'forced marches'. Vegetius, de re militari, seems to reckon 23 miles a good day's march. The distance from Asculum to Corfinium is 165 kilomètres which, assuming that the march occupied four days (Stoffel I. 220), would give about 25½ miles a day. They probably reached Corfinium 8 Feb.

7 *Alba*] now Albe, a town of the Marsi, about 20 miles westward of Corfinium. The abl. (unless we read the locative *Albae*) must be taken with *coegerat* 'had collected (and brought) from Alba'; then the words *ex Marsis et Paelignis* state of what tribes the troops consisted; to this is further added *finitimis ab regionibus* expressing the neighbourhood from which they were drawn, 'from the neighbouring parts'. The sentence is rather awkwardly worded, but it does not improve it to alter *ex* to *et* as KH and Doberenz do.

CHAP. XVI.

1 *recepto Firmo*] cp. Cic. Att. VIII. 12 B § 1 (Pompey to Domitius) *nam illa causa, quam mihi Vibullius scribit, levis est, te propterea moratum esse, quod audieris Caesarem Firmo progressum in Castrum Truentinum venisse.* Taking these two passages together I do not see how one can doubt that Caesar did, whether in person or not, occupy Firmum and Truentum on his way to Asculum. KH object to reading *Firmo* here for three reasons, but (i) the alleged divergence between this statement and the general tenor of 15 §§ 1, 2 (see my note) must not be pressed too much considering the undoubted instances of haste

and discrepancy to be met with in Caesar's narrative; probably the resistance offered at Firmum was slight and easily overcome: (ii) if *Firmo* be read, *expulso Lentulo* need not necessarily mean 'driven from Firmum'; why should it not mean 'driven from the country' i.e. from Picenum, the district with which the greater part of the last chapter is concerned? (iii) *ibi* need not refer back to *Firmo*. Surely as Caesar has last spoken of Lentulus, *ibi* might very naturally refer to the place where Lentulus was, i.e. Asculum. KH suppose that Caesar wrote *oppido*, which occurs in the margin of one MS, and that the copyist, remembering the passage in Cicero's letters, altered it to *Firmo*. But such erudition does not accord with what we know of the ways of copyists. It is far more probable that the copyist of this MS knowing that Lentulus was at Asculum altered *Firmo* to *oppido*. The Aldine edition has *Asculo*. Cp. Lucan II. 468 *depellitur arce Lentulus Asculea*.

Corfinium contendit] M. Stoffel asserts that the route taken by Caesar and by Vibullius lay through Teramo, Penne, Torre dei Passeri, Bussi, and Popoli. He supposes Caesar to have left Asculum on 10 Feb. and to have arrived at Corfinium on 15 Feb., a date which is supported by other considerations.

2 *eo cum venisset*] not to be taken too literally, for Caesar was, as he says himself, three miles from the place: cp. note on *adventu* 15 § 3.

fluminis] the Aternus (Aterno, which between the town of Popoli and the sea is called the Pescara). Caesar coming from the north would cross it by the modern town of Popoli which is just three miles from the site of Corfinium.

interrumpebant] 'began', or 'tried, to break down'.

p. 10. 4 *castra posuit*] on the E. side of the town.

CHAP. XVII.

1 *ad Pompeium*] Pompey was at this time at Luceria; cp. Cic. Att. VIII. § 1 (15 Feb.) where he says Pompey has just written to him and urged him to go to Luceria where he will be safer than anywhere else: and in Att. VIII. 6 we read that the praetor Sosius brings a copy of a letter from Pompey to the consuls announcing the receipt on the 17th of a letter from Domitius; this must be the dispatch spoken of in the text, no doubt sent by Domitius on the 15th the date of Caesar's arrival before Corfinium. In the next letter (Att. VIII. 7) Cicero says "Only one discreditable act remains for our friend Pompey, and that is to refuse to succour Domitius. But you say 'no one doubts but that he

will succour him'. I do not think so...If I am not mistaken, he will leave him in the lurch". The result proved that Cicero's forecast was right.

peritos regionum] the ordinary route from Corfinium to Apulia by way of Sulmo was probably beset by Caesar's troops, and it was therefore necessary to find messengers well acquainted with the mountain paths and to stimulate them by the promise of large rewards.

qui petant atque orent] 'to convey urgent entreaties'; the second verb supplements and intensifies the first, cp. B. C. VI. 9 *petunt atque orant ut sibi parcat:* so too *orare atque obsecrare* often occurs.

locorum angustiis] the plain of Corfinium was almost encircled by mountains, and there were apparently only three approaches to it, the via Minucia on the South by Sulmo, the via Valeria on the West, and the road to Amiternum and Reate on the North-west passing through the gorge made by the river at Popoli, by which Caesar himself entered the plain.

2 *quod nisi fecerit*] *fecerit* is the perfect subjunctive, representing the future perfect in direct narration.

amplius XXX] 32 cohorts composed as follows: 13 brought by Vibullius 15 § 5, 12 belonging to Domitius himself (*cum suis cohortibus XII*, Cic. Att. VIII. 11 A quoted in note on 15 § 5, cp. Att. VIII. 12 A § 1 *et suas XII cohortes*), and 7 of the 20 raised at Alba and other places 15 § 7 (the remaining 13 of the 20 being stationed 6 at Alba and 7 at Sulmo): thus making a total of 13 + 12 + 7 = 32. Stoffel I. 226.

3 *tormenta*] a general term for machines such as *catapultae* and *ballistae* adapted for hurling arrows and stones.

partes] not to be taken in its local sense of 'parts' or 'places' ('posten', 'platz', Doberenz), but in its derived sense of an allotted portion or share of duty, cp. III. 51 § 4 *aliae enim sunt legati partes atque imperatoris;* so too Meusel Lex. s. v. takes it.

4 *contione*] this term is frequently applied to an harangue delivered by an officer to his men.

ex suis possessionibus] 'this enormous offer of lands gives an idea of the immense possessions of a Roman noble, and the reasons which made an Agrarian law so offensive to them. Domitius had received large grants from Sulla out of his wholesale confiscations' (Moberley): cp. Dion XLI. 11 τῶν τε γὰρ Συλλείων ἐγεγόνει (Δομίτιος) καὶ πολλὴν (χώραν) ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας ἐκείνης ἐκέκτητο.

iugera] the *iugerum* was a little less than $\frac{5}{8}$ths of an acre.

pro rata parte] 'proportionately'. As a centurion received double

the pay of a common soldier (4 obols instead of 2), he probably expected also double the reward (8 *iugera* instead of 4). In the corrupt passage B. G. VIII. 4, ***ducenos sestertios, centurionibus tot milia nummum***, I have suggested ***centurionibus bis totidem nummos***. The above scale of pay was doubled by Caesar, but at what date is uncertain; Suet. Caes. 26. [In Livy the distribution of money at a triumph is almost always—so much for the common soldier—double for the *centurio*—triple for the *eques*. On the foundation of the Latin colony of Aquileia *tria millia peditum quinquagena iugera, centuriones centena, centena quadragena* (al. *quinquagena*) *equites acceperant*, Livy XL. 34. At Bononia (XXXVII. 57) *equites* 70 *iugera*, all the rest 50; so at Vibo (XXXV. 40) *pedites* 15 *iugera*, *equites* all 30. In the burgess colonies the division seems to have been uniform. J. S. R.]

evocatisque] these were legionaries who had served their time and were called out again; cp. 3, § 3.

CHAP. XVIII.

1 *quod oppidum*] referring to Sulmo which, though not expressed, may be regarded as inherent in the name *Sulmonenses* 'inhabitants of Sulmo'. KH quote III. 80 § 1, *Gomphi, quod est oppidum*, etc. cp. Reid on Cic. Acad. II. 103.

ea facere quae vellet] this phrase probably denoting 'submission' does not occur elsewhere in Caesar, but is found in B. Af. 7 *legati...libenter se omnia facturos quae vellet pollicentur*. But perhaps it simply means 'do what he wished', 'carry out his desires'. A frequent expression in the sense of submission is *imperata facere* or something similar, cp. above 15 § 2 *quae imperaverit* ('shall have ordered') *se cupidissime facturos pollicentur;* for the tense of *vellet* ('should wish') cp. B. G. VII. 90, *legati...quae imperaret* ('should order') *se facturos pollicentur*.

Q. Lucretio] mentioned in Cic. Att. VII. 24, 25.

Attio] to be distinguished from P. Attius Varus 12 § 3 etc.

2 *portas aperuerunt*] cp. Cic. Att. VIII. 4 § 3 *Sulmone C. Atium Pelignum aperuisse Antonio portas, cum essent cohortes quinque* (Caesar says *septem*), *Q. Lucretium inde effugisse scis, Gnaeum ire Brundisium*, † *Domitium desertum* †? *confecta res est*.

3 *se deiecerunt*] with the object of escaping, not of committing suicide.

mitteretur] notice imperfect subj. after the historic present *petit*.

cohortibus] the 7 cohorts recently under the command of Lucretius and Attius.

eodem die] probably the 16th.

4 *operibus*] siege-works.

5 *eo triduo*] 'within three days', i.e. on the third day of the siege, 17 Feb. cp. *eo biduo*, 41 § 1.

legio VIII] this, as well as the XIIth, had been under the command of Fabius among the Aedui; see note on 15 § 3. Fabius had recently had 4 legions under his command (B. G. VIII. 54); he would now have only two after the departure of the XIIth and VIIIth, but in 37 § 1 he is said to have 3, hence it is supposed that Trebonius who had 4 more in Belgic Gaul was ordered to transfer one of his to Fabius, and this supposition is supported by 36 § 4.

Galliae] Gallia Cisalpina, where Caesar had spent the winter. In addition to these 22 cohorts, he had the 7 cohorts which had formed the garrison of Sulmo, and a few others (perhaps 7) which he had picked up on his march from the scattered garrisons of Auximum and Asculum, thus making a total of 36. These 36 cohorts were probably now organised into three legions, which with the previous three veteran legions, viz. the VIIIth, XIIth, XIIIth, made up an effective force of six legions, to which may be added a body of cavalry. M. Stoffel reckons his whole force to have consisted of 22,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry.

rege Norico] Noricum was the country between the Danube and the Alps, with chief town Noreia now Neumarkt in Carinthia. The Noricans were perhaps grateful to Caesar for having relieved them from the pressure of their enemies by his defeat of the Boii and their allies the Helvetii in 58, B. G. I. 5. One of Ariovistus' wives was the sister of the Noric king Voccio, whether the same king that is mentioned here or not, is uncertain: B. G. I. 53.

altera castra] on the S. W. of the town, commanding the via Valeria and the gorge of Raiano.

p. 11. 6 *vallo castellisque*] 'with a line of earthworks and redoubts': *castella* were, as their name implies, 'little camps' or fortified enclosures, placed at intervals along the line of circumvallation and capable of accommodating small bodies of troops. In the siege of Alesia Caesar constructed 23 castella, and at Dyrrachium Pompey had 24. From careful researches conducted on the spot M. Stoffel believes that Caesar's line of investment formed a circuit of 5 miles.

circummunire] I prefer this to the reading of the MSS *circumvenire*, notwithstanding the instances of the latter in Sallust Iug. 68, 76. In B. C. III. 97 the weight of MS authority is in favour of *circummunire*.

eodem fere tempore] this would be on the 19th, Pompey having received Domitius' letter on the 17th.

CHAP. XIX.

1 *litteris*] fortunately this very letter written at Luceria 17 Feb. is preserved for us in Cic. Att. VIII. 12 D. The tenor of it is—'What I expected has happened. Caesar avoids a pitched battle, and has shut you up to prevent my wavering legions from being strengthened by the accession of your loyal troops. I must not risk the fortunes of the state by engaging Caesar, nor have I all my reinforcements. Get free and join me if you can'. Previous letters had passed between the two generals. Pompey wrote 11 Feb., expressing his surprise that Domitius had abandoned his original intention of joining him, and urging him to do so at once: on 16 Feb. he writes again acknowledging two letters from Domitius, both probably written on the 14th, in the first of which Domitius had said that he was keeping an eye on Caesar's movements and would join Pompey as soon as he could; in the second he urges Pompey to come to him at once, which Pompey says he dare not do with his untrustworthy forces.

consilio] 'council of war': *consilium* may mean 'council' as well as 'counsel', but *concilium* only 'council'.

parent] supply *ut* from the preceding *ne*.

2 *arcano*] a rare word, only here in Caesar.

oratione] 'his words', 'his way of talking'.

consuesset] the indicative would be more usual; the subjunctive marks a kind of oratio obliqua, the fact being put as viewed by the men in the camp.

multumque...fugeret] this clause, connected with the preceding by *que*, is itself divided into two parts *multum...colloqueretur* and *concilia...fugeret* which are not connected by a copula : translate the latter 'while avoiding councils' etc.

3 *neque suo consilio*] so Cicero says Att. VIII. 12 § 6 *omnino culpam omnem Pompeius in Domitium confert.*

4 *fuisset*] 'should have offered itself'.

oppidi] there is no need to alter the position of this word: 'by the blockade and by the investment of the town'.

fiebat] 'it was being brought about'; not quite the same as *factum est*. There is some trace of carelessness in this use of *fieri* and *fiebat* in the same sentence.

CHAP. XX.

1 *qui erant Corfinii*] this may be added to distinguish them from the troops at Alba Fucentia (15 § 7) supposing that to be the place referred to in 24 § 3 where see note.

primo vesperi] 'in the early evening': in II. 43 § 1 the MSS have *primo vespere* where *vesperi* should doubtless be read. Livy has *prima vespera*. The reading of 3 MSS *prima vesperi* is extremely unlikely, both because an ellipse of *hora* is very unusual, and because it would be too precise a note of time for the circumstances.

tribunos militum] there were 6 *tribuni militum* attached to a legion, each holding the chief command of it in his turn.

centurionesque] there were two centurions to each maniple and therefore 60 in a legion.

honestissimos sui generis] the most respectable of their own class, i.e. of the rank and file as opposed to the officers.

2 *cuius spe atque fiducia*] *cuius* is the objective genitive of the person which would be harsh after *spe* alone, but is rendered less so by the addition of *fiducia;* the whole phrase may be translated 'in hopeful reliance on whom they had held out'. ἐλπίς may be similarly followed by an objective genitive of the person, cp. Herod. VI. 11 οὐδεμίαν ὑμέων ἔχω ἐλπίδα μὴ οὐ δώσειν ὑμέας δίκην.

proiectis] 'cast aside', 'abandoned': cp. II. 32 § 8 *nonne extremam pati fortunam paratos proiecit ille?* (Domitius); I. 30 § 5 *queritur in contione se proiectum ac proditum a Cn. Pompeio;* Cic. Att. IV. 5 § 1 *noram inductus relictus proiectus ab eis.*

3 *Marsi*] the troops levied from Alba and other Marsic towns; the Marsi were a brave and warlike people who had fought vigorously against Rome in the Social War.

quae...videretur] 'such part as seemed'; consecutive subjunctive, Roby § 1680 foll. This part was probably on the north-east of the town where a deep ravine ran beneath the walls. Stoffel I. 242.

4 *eos*] the Marsi and the rest.

post paulo] so B. G. VII. 60, but *paulo post* B. C. I. 26 § 5.

quae...cognoscunt] 'they learn the events of which they were ignorant, namely about the (intended) flight of Domitius': the words *de fuga* must not be taken too closely with *ignorabant.*

p. 12. 5 *quae imperaverit*] cp. note on 18 § 1.

CHAP. XXI.

1 *magni*] a genitive of value, perhaps originally a locative; see also note on *interesse* 24 § 5.

oppido potiri] the ablative is usual with *potiri* in Caesar, with the doubtful exception of B. G. I. 3, where the genitive is found, and of II. 7 *potiundi oppidi*, III. 6 *potiundorum oppidorum*, where the form of the phrase implies an accusative.

qua] nominative agreeing with *commutatio*.

momentis] this metaphor from the dipping of a scale is frequent, cp. III. 68 § 1 *sed fortuna, quae plurimum potest cum in reliquis rebus tum praecipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit.*

intercederent] the idea conveyed by the word is that of an event 'interposing' itself in the ordinary course of affairs. The mood is due to the fact that Caesar's thought is here expressed; 'because, as he reflected, great crises often occurred from a slight disturbance of equilibrium'.

3 *perpetuis*] 'with an unbroken line of sentries and outposts'.

omnem munitionem] 'the whole line of investment'.

4 *praefectos*] 'cavalry officers'.

caveant] jussive subjunctive after *hortatur:* there is no need to supply *ut*.

5 *qui...conquieverit*] *qui=ut is*, and therefore this sentence gives an instance of the perfect in a consecutive clause following a perfect in the main clause; though Draeger H. S. I. § 133 says that there are no instances of this in the B. C. He quotes 5 from the B. G., as e.g. II. 21 *temporis tanta fuit exiguitas...ut ad galeas induendas tempus defuerit.*

6 *summae rerum*] 'the ultimate issue', 'the crisis of their fortunes': cp. II. 30 § 1, III. 51 § 4, B. Al. 16.

expectatio] almost 'anxiety about'; cp. III. 19 § 4 *magnaque erat expectatio eius rei.*

mente atque animo] a stereotyped phrase in which all distinction between the two words is lost sight of, as in our expression 'with all one's heart and soul'. Properly speaking the *mens* is the intellectual part of the *animus:* cp. B. G. III. 19, VI. 5, and often in Cicero and Lucretius.

quid...accideret...exciperent] '(in suspense as to) what was happening

to' etc.; almost in the sense of 'what should happen to'. It is a kind of dubitative subjunctive, cp. Livy II. 55 *incerti quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam;* Draeger I. § 140 b.

reliquis] Caesar may be thinking of Vibullius Rufus and Lucilius Hirrus.

quosque] not *quemque* 'each individual', but plural 'each party', as the townspeople, the beleaguered troops, the besieging force.

CHAP. XXII.

1 *quarta vigilia*] the night from sunset to sunrise was divided into 4 watches of equal length; at this time of the year (21 Feb., corresponding probably to some late date in December by the corrected calendar) each watch would be from 3 to 4 hours in length, so that the time indicated would be approximately 4 to 8 a.m.

circiter] probably always an adverb in Caesar; in B. G. I. 50 *meridie* might easily be read, in V. 49 *media nocte* is better attested than the accusative.

2 *deducatur*] the subjunctive after *prius quam* serves to denote the purpose of the act, while the indicative would merely mark the sequence of events. The soldiers took care not to leave Lentulus till they saw him safe in the presence of Caesar.

3 *agit*] supplied by Bentley; for the whole phrase cp. B. G. I. 31 § 1 *petieruntque uti sibi secreto de sua omniumque salute cum eo agere liceret;* B. C. I. 74 § 6.

orat atque obsecrat] cp. note on 17 § 1 *qui petent atque orent.*

p. 13. 4 *collegium pontificum*] the *pontifices*, 15 in number (since 81 B.C.), formed a *collegium* or corporate body. The method of filling a vacancy at this period was for the college to nominate two persons, one of whom was then elected at an informal meeting of a minority (17 tribes) of the *comitia tributa*. P. Lentulus Spinther was *pontifex* 57—54. Nothing seems to be known about Caesar's support of his candidature.

venerat] the statements are the writer's own and are not put into the mouth of Lentulus, in which case we should have had *venisset, habuisset, esset*.

ex praetura] Lentulus was *praetor urbanus* in 60 and in 59 was governor of Hispania citerior. Caesar, who had previously held the province, no doubt had some influence in the appointment of his successor, as he was then one of the most powerful men in the state. According to Cicero the consuls of 59, Piso and Gabinius, 'bought'

their provincial governorships by the work they did for Caesar, cp. Fam. I. 9 § 13 *non consules sed mercatores provinciarum*, p. Sest. 55, de domo 23.

consulatus] he was consul in 57 with Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos.

5 *provincia*] Gallia cisalpina.

in ea re] 'in that matter', 'on that occasion'; but possibly *iniuria* 'wrongfully' should be read; cp. the adverbial ablatives *iure* 'rightfully', *ratione* 'rationally' etc.

suam dignitatem] 'their rightful position of dignity'.

in libertatem vindicaret] 'claim for freedom', 'assert the freedom of'; a legal phrase: cp. the Greek ἀφελέσθαι εἰς ἐλευθερίαν.

6 *quod*] 'the fact that', 'whereas', adverbial accusative, not the object of *impetraverit* which is here used absolutely 'gained his request'.

ad suam spem] 'for (the attainment of) *their* hopes': *suus* when before its noun is more emphatic than when placed after it, as in the last clause *sua salute*, and in the next *suae vitae*.

adeo esse perterritos] 'are so frightened that they are (being) forced'; notice that if *esse perterritos* had meant 'were so frightened', it would have been followed by *cogerentur: perterritus* here, as often, is a mere adjective.

suae...consulere] 'to adopt harsh measures against their own life', i.e. to commit suicide.

cogantur] there is no need to alter this to *conentur:* for *cogi* denoting what one may call the compulsion of sentiment cp. Verg. Aen. IV. 413 *ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando | cogitur.* The word is often thus used by Propertius, as in III. 9. 22 *cogor et exemplis te superare tuis* where some editors needlessly read *conor.*

CHAP. XXIII.

1 *ubi luxit*] probably about 7 a.m. on the 21st Feb. If we suppose Lentulus o have first opened communications with the Roman guards (see note on 22 § 1) about 5 a.m., this would give time for his visit to the Roman lines before it grew light, which, as the days were now at their shortest, would not be much before 7.

2 *L. Caecilius Rufus*] half brother of P. Cornelius Sulla, consul 65, a nephew of the Dictator. Some would read here *L. Vibullius Rufus*, for whom see 15 § 4.

Sex. Quintilius Varus] cp. II. 28 § 1: to be distinguished from the like-named praetor of 57; Lange III[2] 309.

L. Rubrius] nothing certain is known of this senator. "Some identify him with L. Rubrius Dossennus whose name appears on some well-known coins." J. S. R.

filius Domitii] Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 32: cp. Cic. Phil. II. 27.

decurionum] see note on 13 § 1.

3 *prohibet*] 'protects', cp. B. G. V. 21 *Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum iniuria prohibitis.*

quod] to be taken in connexion with *pauca* (KH); 'a few remarks, as that they had not made a return' etc. Has *queritur* fallen out between *loquitur* and *quod?*

a parte eorum] 'on their part': *ab* does not here denote the agent ('by') but the direction or quarter from which something comes; cp. Cic. Att. IX. 7 § 4 *cum eadem metuam ab hac parte.*

4 *HS LX*] approximately £50,000, if *HS LX* stands for *sestertium sexagies*, and not for *sestertia sexaginta* (£500).

advexerat] *advehere* is not used elsewhere by Caesar.

IIviris] the four chief magistrates of a *municipium* were called *IVviri;* they were subdivided into two *IIviri* (or *IVviri*) *iure dicundo* and two *IIviri aediles,* of whom the former were the more important. Some read *IVviris* here, which may be right.

reddit] but it was reported by the Pompeians that Caesar retained the money; Cic. Att. VIII. 14 § 3 *addit* (*Lepidus*) *illud sane molestum, pecuniam Domitio satis grandem, quam is Corfinii habuerit, non esse redditam.* (KH.)

publicam esse] 'belonged to the state'.

5 *sacramentum...dicere*] cp. 86 § 4, II. 28 § 2; sometimes *sacramento dicere* is used.

iustum iter] 'an ordinary day's march'. Col. Stoffel suggests that Caesar marched eastward, skirting the Pescara, and halted the first night at Interbromium (S. Valentino) a distance of about 16 miles.

VII omnino] 'seven in all', Feb. 15th to 21st inclusive.

Marrucinorum] a tribe bordering on the sea, situated roughly speaking between the Aternus (Pescara) and the towns of Ortona and Lanciano.

Frentanorum] next below the Marrucini, extending southward to Termoli and the river Biferno.

Larinatium] next to the Frentani, from the Tifernus (Biferno) to the Frento (Fortore) the northern boundary of Apulia. So far Caesar's route had lain, according to Stoffel, through Anxanum (Lanciano) and

Histonium (Vasto, on the Adriatic coast) to Teanum in Apulia on the south bank of the Frento. From thence he would probably go by Arpi (Cic. Att. IX. 3 § 2), Canusium, Barium (Bari), Egnatia (near Monopoli), and so to Brundisium. I dare not follow General Göler in giving the exact stage for each day, or in stating at what part of the journey the troops were halted for a day's rest!

CHAP. XXIV.

p. 14. 1 *Luceria*] Pompey was at Canusium on the 20th (Cic. Att. VIII. 11 § 4) and probably left Luceria (now Lucera) on the 18th, after receiving Domitius' letter on the 17th (Cic. Att. VIII. 6 § 2, 12 D § 1) announcing the investment of Corfinium. It is not therefore strictly correct to say that Pompey left Luceria 'on learning of these events which had happened at Corfinium', for when he left he could not have had news of more than the first two days at most of the siege.

Canusium] Canosa just S. of the Aufidus (Ofante). Pompey left Canusium on the 21st; cp. Cic. Att. VIII. 14 § 1, IX. 1 § 1.

Brundisium] the well-known Brindisi, then, as now, a great port of embarkation. Pompey arrived there 25 Feb., cp. Cic. Att. IX. 10 § 8 *K. Mart., cum ille quintum iam diem Brundisii esset.*

2 *copias*] Pompey now organises his new levies. It will be remembered that the only regular troops he had with him were the two legions taken from Caesar: of these, 14 cohorts had been in camp at Luceria, two had been sent on to Brundisium under Metellus Scipio, and the remaining four were at Canusium: cp. Cic. Att. VIII. 3 § 7, 12 A § 2, 12 C § 2.

3 *L. Manlius*] surnamed Torquatus, one of the praetors of 49.

Alba] the Marsic Alba Fucentia (15 § 7). It seems strange that Caesar should have advanced from Corfinium leaving a hostile garrison of six cohorts behind him. Moberley takes this to be the Alba in Latium, but "Alba in Latium was no place at this time; had the site of old Alba been meant Caesar would have written *ex monte Albano* or something of the sort." J. S. R.

Rutilius Lupus] Cic. Att. IX. 1 § 2 (written 6 March) *urbem quidem iam refertam esse optimatium audio; Sosium et Lupum, quos Gnaeus noster ante putabat Brundisium venturos esse quam se, ius dicere.* Later on Lupus was holding Achaia for Pompey B. C. III. 56.

Tarracina] Terracina, formerly called Anxur, in Latium on the coast between cape Circello and Gaeta.

transferunt] cp. 74 § 3 *se statim signa translaturos confirmant* and 60 § 4 *transit etiam cohors Illurgavonensis ad eum cognito civitatis consilio et signa ex statione transfert* where *transire* and *signa transferre* occur together as in the present passage. Cicero Att. IX. 6 § 1 says he has heard *sex cohortes, quae Albae fuissent, ad Curium via Minucia transisse.* Stoffel thinks the junction may have taken place near Arpi, the ruins of which are close to the modern town of Foggia. Caesar was at Arpi on 1 March, Cic. Att. IX. 3 § 2.

4 *reliquis itineribus*] 'during the remaining stages'.

agmen] the main body of troops on the march; they would probably be preceded by the cavalry.

Cremona] 'of Cremona', ablative of origin; cp. III. 71 *C. Fleginatem Placentia, A. Granium Puteolis, M. Sacrativirum Capua:* with this one may compare the common use of the ablative to denote the tribe to which a person belongs as *Q. Verres Romilia* 'of the tribe Romilia'.

praefectus fabrum] 'chief engineer officer'. An army in the field was always accompanied by an organised corps of engineers, *fabri*, furnished with all the necessary appliances for siege operations, bridge building etc. Caesar mentions his arrest and dismissal of Magius in a letter to Oppius, Cic. Att. IX. 7 C § 2.

5 *interesse rei publicae*] the genitive after *interesse* is probably dependent on a neuter noun understood, 'it is among (the advantages) of the state', i.e. 'it is one of the interests of the state'. So too it is suggested that in such phrases as *mea interest*, the word *mea* is not, as it is usually taken to be, a feminine ablative singular, but a neuter accusative plural, so that the meaning is 'it is among my interests', *inter mea est.* Schmalz Lat. Synt. § 78.

6 *coram*] 'face to face'; not used by Caesar as a preposition.

CHAP. XXV.

1 *legionibus VI*] see note on 18 § 2.

pervenit] cp. Cic. Att. IX. 13 A § 1, Balbus sends Cicero a copy of a letter from Caesar to Oppius in which he says *a. d. vii idus Martias Brundisium veni, ad murum castra posui. Pompeius est Brundisii: misit ad me N. Magium de pace; quae visa sunt respondi.* This fixes the date of Caesar's arrival at Brundisium to 9 March.

compleverat] 'had raised to their full complement'.

2 *Siciliam*] Sicily was at this time held by Cato, Cic. Att. X. 12 A § 2,

16 § 3; Plut. Pomp. 61, Cato 53; Appian B. C. II. 40. On the arrival of the 19 (?) Domitian cohorts under the command of Asinius Pollio, Cato left the island and repaired to Pompey at Dyrrachium. It is noticeable that Pompey had intended sending these cohorts to Sicily whither they were now dispatched by his rival Caesar, Cic. Att. VIII. 12 A § 3. Stoffel (I. 304) on inadequate grounds considers this clause a late interpolation; see note on 30 § 2.

Dyrrachium] now Durazzo, a seaport in Albania, the ancient Epidamnus; it was the usual port of embarkation on the east of the Adriatic corresponding to Brundisium on the west. The consuls took 30 cohorts across with them (Plut. Pomp. 62), so that Pompey's whole force amounted to 50 cohorts, or about 25,000 men. Cicero Att. IX. 6 § 3 reckons the total at 30,000 which may include auxiliary troops and cavalry.

3 *extremis*] 'furthest', i.e. from Rome, Brundisium being situated in the heel of the peninsula; it should probably be repeated with *regionibus* 'the most outlying districts of Greece', cp. B. Af. 77 *Thebanenses...in extrema eius regni regione maritima locati.* The ablative could not stand here without a preposition, so Paul inserts *ab*, *ex* has been suggested but would sound badly. Pompey by occupying Brundisium and Dyrrachium would practically command the whole of the Adriatic from (*ab*) these two extreme points. Dr Reid thinks *extremis* is corrupt and may have arisen from *ex maritimis*, which would make better sense.

an inopia] this was the real reason, cp. Dion XLI. 12 *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ σφισι, προέπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους, μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι κατὰ χώραν ὑπομείναντες.*

4 *administrationes*] 'the working of the harbour' (Moberley).

5 *fauces*] just off Brundisium the sea flows in between the lines of shore that slowly converge till a channel of 350 yards minimum width is formed; the banks then recede again on either hand, the sea spreading into two diverging streams, enclosing between them a projecting spur of the mainland, on the extremity of which is situated Brundisium, exactly opposite the above-mentioned channel.

moles atque aggerem] 'piers and a dam'. Cicero (Att. IX. 14 § 1) gives the following extract from a letter written by Caesar to Q. Pedius, received 14 March; *Pompeius se oppido tenet; nos ad portas castra habemus. conamur opus magnum et multorum dierum propter altitudinem maris, sed tamen nihil est quod potius faciamus: ab utroque portus cornu moles iacimus ut aut illum quam primum traicere, quod habet Brundisii copiarum, cogamus aut exitu prohibeamus*; cp. IX. 12 § 1. Col. Stoffel,

under whose superintendence the place has been thoroughly examined, states that each pier was about 75 yards long. This would leave a channel of 200 yards which would be further lessened by the rafts.

p. 15. 6 *altiore aqua*] ablative of attendant circumstances.

contineri] 'held together': the water being deep the dam broke up as fast as it was made. Dr Reid thinks *contineri* wrong and suggests *continuari*; because of the depth of the water Caesar could not carry the mole across in an unbroken line, cp. *continuare pontem* Tac. Ann. XV. 9.

rates duplices] it is not clear whether this means two rafts, each 30 ft. by 15 ft., placed side by side so as to form as it were a single raft of 30 ft. square, or whether we must suppose that for the sake of additional carrying power one raft was placed on the top of another, each of the two being 30 feet square. On the whole I prefer the latter view supported by Göler and Stoffel. Dr Reid however suggests that the word *duplices* may mean that the rafts were made in pairs and one of each pair anchored at each of the two incomplete *aggeres*. Some objection has been raised by Göler and others to the number *XXX*, on the ground that rafts 30 ft. square would not be large enough for the various erections placed on them, but I do not think that any alteration is needed.

e regione molis] 'over against the end of the breakwater', forming as it were a continuation of the breakwater.

7 *destinabat*] 'made fast', cp. B. G. III. 14, VII. 22, and perhaps IV. 17.

8 *iungebat*] 'attached' to the end of the former. It was Caesar's intention to unite the two ends of the piers by a chain of rafts and so bar the channel, but the work was never completed, cp. 27 § 1 *prope dimidia parte operis effecta*; how many rafts were placed in position we cannot now say, but probably more than 'three or four' which is Col. Stoffel's estimate, for Caesar says that he proceeded to erect towers 'on every fourth raft'. This argument however will not hold if the imperfect *excitabat* denotes merely the unfulfilled intention. It would require 20 rafts to fill up the whole space between the piers supposing it to have been 200 yards.

9 *terra atque aggere*] 'soil and a raised causeway'.

ne aditus...impediretur] 'that there might be no obstacle in the way of approach or ingress for the purpose of defence'.

a fronte] the front or end of the raft facing mid-channel; as each raft was completed these defences *a fronte* would, I suppose, be removed and transferred to the front or end of the next raft and so on.

ab utroque latere] the side towards Brundisium and the side facing the open sea, in other words, the sides facing up and down channel.

cratibus ac pluteis] 'fascines and screens'; the latter were breastworks of wickerwork covered with raw hides: cp. III. 24 § 1 *scaphas...cratibus pluteisque contexit.*

10 *tabulatorum*] 'stories'; these towers sometimes had 10 stories as in B. G. VIII. 41, and exceeded 100 ft. in height.

excitabat] 'ran up': the word suggests hasty construction and is elsewhere applied by Caesar to the erection of towers, B. G. III. 14, V. 40, VIII. 9.

CHAP. XXVI.

1 *adornabat*] 'proceeded to equip'.

ibi] 'on them'=*in eis;* cp. 27 § 3 and a similar use of *eo* III. 24 § 1 *eoque milites delectos imposuit* where *eo*=*in eas* (*scaphas*).

cum ternis] the use of the preposition is strange, and is scarcely defended by such phrases as *cum veste*, *cum telo* etc.

tormentis] see note on 17 § 3.

omni genere telorum] 'every kind of weapons'; in B. G. VII. 41 *multitudine...omnis generis telorum* the phrase seems to be reversed 'weapons of every kind'.

appellebat] 'brought up close'.

2 *ita*] *ita* thus followed by *ut* ('in such a way that') has something of a concessive force: 'Caesar though carrying on these operations did not think that negotiations for peace ought to be dropped'.

Magium] from this remark and from the subsequent account of the final closing of the negotiations we should naturally gather that Pompey never sent back Magius at all, yet it is clear that he did so from Caesar's own letter to Oppius, Cic. Att. IX. 13 A § 1 *Pompeius est Brundisii: misit ad me N. Magium de pace; quae visa sunt respondi:* so too Cicero says Att. IX. 13 § 8 *Pompeius N. Magium de pace misit, et tamen oppugnatur.* KH would solve the contradiction by supposing that Pompey *had* sent him back with instructions, to which Caesar had replied, and that then Pompey refrained from sending him on a second mission. But this is pure guess-work and contrary to the whole tenor of the narrative. It is simpler to suppose that Caesar here, whether from forgetfulness or deliberately, makes a false statement.

ea res] his exertions to bring about an understanding: translate freely 'and although his frequent attempts in this direction hindered' etc.

omnibus rebus] 'in every way', 'on all accounts'.

3 *Rebilum*] C. Caninius Rebilus was one of Caesar's *legati* in Gaul, B. G. VII. 83. Subsequently he was *consul suffectus* for a few hours at the end of 45.

familiarem necessariumque] there is little appreciable distinction between the two words which may be freely translated 'an intimate friend': cp. Cic. Fam. XIII. 12 § 1 *M. Caesii, mei et familiaris et necessarii;* 44 *tanta mihi cum eo necessitudo est familiaritasque.*

Libonis] L. Scribonius Libo was a strong partisan of Pompey, and an active and energetic officer. He was consul for the first half of 34. His daughter Scribonia became the third wife of Augustus, and another daughter married Sextus Pompeius.

ipse] Caesar.

4 *cuius rei*] genitive after *laudis atque existimationis* 'a great part of the praise and credit for that achievement': cp. B. G. VI. 40 *ne ante partam rei militaris laudem amitterent* 'credit for military success'.

si illo...discessum] 'if a cessation of hostilities should take place at his initiation and by his agency'. With *auctore atque agente* cp. Cic. p. Sest. 61 *dux auctor actor rerum illarum fuit.*

5 *proficiscitur*] the word indicates that Libo was not with Pompey in Brundisium, but probably he was not far off.

p. 16. 6 *saepius...temptatam*] above § 2 *ea res saepe temptata.*

CHAP. XXVII.

1 *dimidia parte operis*] this cannot mean half of the whole line of works from shore to shore, because the total width of the channel being 350 yards, half of the distance would be 175 yards, and the length of the two piers being 150 yards, only 25 yards would be left occupied by rafts, which would mean a length of 2½ rafts; but it is clear from 25 § 10, where see note, that several rafts had been placed in position; hence we may conclude with tolerable certainty that by *operis* Caesar means the work of placing the rafts, that is, that about 10 of the 20 rafts required had now been arranged.

IX] the ninth day from 9 March on which Caesar arrived at Brundisium would be 17 March.

deportaverant] "*deportare* not used in Cicero of carrying anything *out* of Italy." J. S. R.

2 *profectionem parare incipit*] cp. Cic. Att. IX. 15 § 6 (Matius and Trebatius to Cicero) *cum Capua exissemus, in itinere audivimus Pom-*

peium Brundisio a.d. XVI K. Apriles (17 March) *cum omnibus copiis quas habuit profectum esse; Caesarem postero die in oppidum introisse.* Rumours of Pompey's departure at an earlier date had reached Cicero, Att. IX. 13 § 1, 14 § 3.

3 *sub*] 'just at the moment of'; cp. B. G. VIII. 49 *sub decessu suo.* "This temporal use of *sub* with ablative not before Caesar, though Cicero has the corresponding local use (Att. XIV. 7 § 1 *sub Lanuvio* 'close to') which Draeger says is only poetical." J. S. R.

oppidum] the MSS omit *in* as in II. 13 § 4 *quin oppidum irrumperent* where however *in* might easily have fallen out after *quin*. Paul inserts the preposition, but leaves III. 111 § 1 *primo impetu domum eius irrumpere conatur*, though Cic. de orat. III. 168 has *in domum irrumpere:* as a rule the simple accusative is poetical and in late prose.

vicos plateasque] 'streets and squares': *vicus* (οἶκος) is properly a group or row of houses, then the street formed by them; *platea* (πλατεῖα) is a broad open space.

inaedificat] 'builds up', i.e. 'blocks'; cp. Livy XLIV. 45 *nec clausae modo portae sed etiam inaedificatae erant;* Cic. Har. Resp. 32 *a Sex. Serrano sanctissima sacella suffossa inaedificata oppressa... nescimus?*

viis] the exact construction of this word is not certain, but it is probably governed by *praeducit*, 'draws trenches at right angles in front of the streets'; cp. Silius Ital. X. 410 *fossas instant praeducere muris.* For *transversus* 'across', 'at right angles' cp. B. G. II. 8 *transversam fossam obduxit.* Dr Reid suggests *transversis viis* like *transverso itinere, flumine* etc.

ibi]=*in eis*, cp. 26 § 1.

sudes stipitesque] 'stakes and blocks of wood'.

4 *haec...inaequat*] 'he levels these (with the rest of the road) by covering them with light hurdles and earth'. The word *inaequat* is ἅπαξ εἰρημένον; elsewhere Caesar has *aequare* or *adaequare*, and Dr Reid thinks that the *in* here may be a remnant of some word such as *iniecta*.

aditus] 'approaches'; the *duo* belongs only to *itinera:* cp. B. G. VI. 9 *aditus viasque in Suebos perquirit.* By *duo itinera* are probably meant the narrow strips of shore between the walls of the town and the two arms of the sea.

trabibus] 'balks of timber': these were fixed deeply in (*defixis*) with their sharpened ends projecting.

5 *silentio*] an adverbial ablative very frequent in Caesar, twice with

genitive *noctis* added B. G. VII. 26, 36: he does not use the word in any other form.

evocatis sagittariis funditoribusque] the light-armed men intended for garrison duty were chosen from three classes of troops, the reinlisted veterans, the archers, and the slingers; but it must be remembered that the two last named classes were all light-armed; the *evocati*, heavy-armed legionaries, were converted into light-armed men for this special service. There may be some fault in the text here.

6 *expedito loco*] 'in a safe place': *expeditus* is the opposite of *impeditus* and so 'free from obstruction', 'safe', 'accessible'.

actuaria navigia] small swift vessels propelled by oar and sail. "The word denotes devoted to *actus* (*rerum*), i.e. business as opposed to fighting, not to be explained (as is usual) from *remis agere*." J. S. R.

CHAP. XXVIII.

1 *iniuriis*] the Pompeian troops probably behaved with great license in Brundisium; we know that Cicero and other members of the optimate party, though siding with Pompey, feared that if victorious he would repeat the murders and proscriptions of the Sullan régime.

2 *illis*] the Pompeian soldiers.

ea re] the business of departure.

vulgo] almost like *undique* or *passim*, 'everywhere'.

Caesar] it should be remembered that in addition to partially blocking the harbour Caesar had completely invested the town. Sufficient traces of his works still exist to show the position of the line of circumvallation and the site of his three entrenched camps, one on each side of the harbour, over against the two piers, and one on the landward or western side of the town.

3 *sub noctem*] *sub* with accusative of time may mean 'just before' or 'just after'; cp. Prof. Palmer on Horace Sat. I. 1. 10; here it probably means 'just at nightfall'.

quod convenerat] 'which had been agreed on'; cp. B. G. I. 36 *si in eo manerent quod convenisset*, II. 19 *quod tempus inter eos convenerat*.

4 *vallum caecum*] 'the blind stockade', that is, the hidden rows of *sudes stipitesque*. Notice that *caecus* may be either 'not seeing' or 'not seen'; so too *surdus* and κωφὸς may be 'not hearing' or 'not heard'.

p. 17. *scaphis lintribusque*] 'boats and punts'; it is impossible to tell the

exact difference between a *scapha* and a *linter*, but probably the former was larger and better built than the latter.

reprehendunt] 'check', 'hinder their escape'.

CHAP. XXIX.

1 *ad spem*] lit. 'for the hope', but we should say 'in the hope'.

eius rei moram] 'the delay involved in such a course'.

2 *relinquebatur*] 'the only course left was' etc.; cp. below 63 § 2, B. G. v. 9 *relinquebatur, ut...pateretur.*

Piceni] these would be merchant vessels belonging to Ancona and other small ports on the coast of Picenum.

freto] the Sicilian strait, which, as the strait best known to the Romans, was often called *fretum* without any addition. KH suppose that Caesar meant the ships which had conveyed the troops of Domitius to Sicily.

impeditum] 'fraught with hindrances'.

3 *veterem exercitum*] it will be remembered that Pompey had a veteran army of 7 legions in Spain, the two Spanish provinces having been assigned to him for 5 years from 1 Jan. 55 by the *lex Trebonia.*

altera] the reference is to Hispania citerior, where, in conjunction with Q. Caecilius Metellus the governor of Hispania ulterior, Pompey had brought the Sertorian war to a successful conclusion in 72. After the death of Sertorius most of the towns of hither Spain voluntarily surrendered to Pompey, who doubtless did his best to restore prosperity to the afflicted country and so earned the gratitude of the inhabitants.

CHAP. XXX.

1 *Hispaniam*] "Caesar's resolution to go to Spain arose from an almost instinctive feeling in a Roman general, prevailing since the time of the Second Punic War, leading them to consider Spain as important as Italy itself. See Arnold, Hist. Rome, vol. III. p. 81; where this point is well brought out" (Moberley).

duumviris] see note on 23 § 4: the *duumviri* are probably the two *IVviri iure dicundo* there mentioned who may have been also termed *IIviri iure dicundo.* As Dr Reid says, these magistrates were probably called *duoviri*, the form *duumviri* (*duum* being an older form related to *duorum* as *nummum* to *nummorum*) having perhaps been expanded from the abbreviation *IIviri.*

municipiorum] it is possible that the word *maritimorum* may have fallen out after *municipiorum*, for Caesar is evidently thinking only of the *municipia* on the coast, Tarentum, Sipontum, etc.: see on 32 § 1.

deducendas] for *deducere* used of bringing a vessel into port cp. 36 § 2, B. Al. 11; on the other hand it is more often used of launching a ship, as in B. G. v. 2.

2 *Sardiniam*] Sardinia and Corsica together formed one of the Roman provinces and were governed by a *propraetor*, at this time M. Cotta. Caesar was anxious to secure the three great corn-producing countries Sardinia, Sicily and Africa, on which Rome was dependent for its supplies of food: cp. Appian B. C. II. 40 ἑτέρους δ' ἔπεμπεν ἅμα Κοΐντῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Σαρδὼ τὴν νῆσον καταλαβεῖν πυροφοροῦσαν· καὶ κατέλαβον.

Curionem] Appian B. C. II. 41 ἔς τε τὰ ἔξω, Κουρίωνα μὲν ἀντὶ Κάτωνος ᾑρεῖτο ἡγεῖσθαι Σικελίας, Κόιντον δὲ Σαρδοῦς.

legionibus II] this, not *III*, is no doubt right. The four legions mentioned in II. 23 § 1 are these two together with the two legions of Domitius previously despatched to Sicily under Asinius Pollio: see note on 25 § 2.

Africam] the Roman province of Africa corresponded roughly to Tunis and part of Tripoli as far as the greater Syrtes (Gulf of Sidra).

M. Cotta] M. Aurelius Cotta son of the like-named consul of 74. Caesar despatched Valerius and Curio during the last week of March, after the capture of Brundisium and before his arrival in Rome; and he says here that Cotta was expelled from Sardinia before Valerius left Italy. Hence the rumour that reached Cicero in May that Cotta was still holding Sardinia must have been false, Cic. Att. x. 16 § 3 *Cato qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit et, si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent, Syracusis profectus est ante diem viii K. Mai., ut ad me Curio scripsit. utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat! est enim rumor: o, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem!*

sorte] cp. Cic. p. Lig. 21 *Tuberonis sors coniecta est ex senatus consulto; 27 iusto cum imperio ex senatus consulto in provinciam suam venerat.*

Tubero] L. Aelius Tubero was appointed by the Senate to govern Africa as propraetor for the year 49. The previous governor C. Considius having abdicated before the expiration of his office had informally delegated his powers to his *legatus* Q. Ligarius (Cic. p. Lig. 2), who on the news of the outbreak of war reaching Africa refused to take any prominent part for Pompey, to whose interests the inhabitants were devoted, and practically resigned his post. Thereupon P. Attius

Varus, who happened to be in Africa whither he had fled straight from Auximum (cp. 13 §§ 2, 3; 31 § 2), took Ligarius' place and became to all intents and purposes the governor of the province, of which indeed he had formerly been propraetor. Tubero then on arriving in Africa found his post already occupied and was not allowed to land, as we read in the next chapter. It is for this reason that Caesar here says *obtinere debebat*, 'ought to have been in command of', instead of *obtinebat*. At a later period Tubero's son impeached Ligarius for bearing arms against Caesar. Ligarius was successfully defended by Cicero in a speech which is still extant.

3 *Caralitani*] the people of Caralis, now Cagliari, on the S. coast of Sardinia.

simul] for *simul atque* only here and in B. G. IV. 26, whereas the fuller form occurs 10 times. The usage is common in other writers.

profecto] sc. *illo*; for the omission of the pronoun KH cp. B. G. IV. 12 *resistentibus* sc. *eis*.

4 *Cato*] the account here given by Caesar of Cato's proceedings is slightly at variance with that given by Appian B. C. II. 40, 41, who says that Cato left Sicily on the arrival of Asinius Pollio whom Caesar had despatched at the same time as Valerius to Sardinia, and that afterwards on reaching Rome Caesar nominated Curio governor of Sicily in place of Cato. According to Plutarch Cato 53, it was the arrival of Asinius Pollio *together with the news of a larger force advancing* that forced Cato to leave Sicily: this helps to combine the two accounts: the truth being that Cato did not retire immediately on the arrival of Pollio with Domitius' cohorts, but only when he heard that there was a fresh force coming; see below *adventu Curionis cognito*. He left 23 April, cp. Cic. Att. X. 16 quoted above on § 2.

naves longas veteres] *naves longas* is regarded almost as one word to which the epithet *veteres* is attached, cp. 26 § 1 *naves magnas onerarias*; so too *equestre-praelium secundum* and similar phrases.

Lucanis Bruttiisque] the Bruttii occupied the extremity of the Italian peninsula southward from Thurium; the Lucani stretched northward from the Bruttii to the borders of Apulia and Campania.

5 *adventu Curionis cognito*] 'hearing of the approach of Curio', cp. above § 4 and on 15 § 3.

proiectum] see note on 20 § 2.

p. 18. *imparatissimus*] 'utterly unprepared in every particular'.

CHAP. XXXI.

1 *vacuas ab*] cp. B. G. II. 12 *vacuum ab defensoribus* and elsewhere.

eo] 'thither', that is, to Sicily and Sardinia respectively.

2 *Tubero*] see above 30 § 2.

cum imperio] 'armed with the *imperium*', though he was a *de facto* rather than a *de iure* governor: KH cp. Cic. Lig. 3 *si illud imperium esse potuit quod ad privatum clamore multitudinis imperitae, nullo publico consilio deferebatur.*

supra] 13 §§ 2, 3.

ex fuga] we should say 'in his flight', so *ex itinere* 'in his journey': *ex* denotes the origin or point of departure; his arrival in Africa originated in, or was the immediate result or termination of, his flight.

sua sponte] 'of his own accord', 'on his own account'; to be taken with *occupaverat.*

usu] 'familiarity'. Translate 'having by his knowledge of the people and the district and his familiarity with the province gained an opening for engaging in such undertakings': *aditus* 'means of approach', hence 'facilities' or 'opportunities' for any course of action, cp. 74 § 5 *per quem quisque eorum aditum commendationis haberet ad Caesarem.*

paucis ante annis] the exact date seems not to be known.

ex praetura] 'on the expiration of his praetorship', cp. 22 § 4.

3 *Uticam*] now Biserta in the extreme north of Tunis.

navibus] a kind of instrumental ablative, cp. 36 § 1, Roby § 1236. The dative is so used in Greek, cp. Herod. I. 4 Ἀλκιβιάδης κατέπλευσεν ἐς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν.

filium] probably the son who afterwards impeached Ligarius.

exponere] the usual word for putting a person ashore from a ship, cp. Hor. Sat. I. 5. 23 *quarta vix demum exponimur hora.*

terra] ablative as in III. 23 § 2, but the accusative would be equally good Latin.

CHAP. XXXII.

1 *intermitteretur*] 'that the rest of the time might be allowed to pass in freedom from toil'; cp. B. G. VII. 24 *ne quod omnino tempus ab opere intermitteretur*, 36 *neque ullum fere diem intermittebat quin...periclitaretur* 'allowed scarcely a single day to elapse without making trial'.

municipia] cp. Cic. Att. IX. 15 § 1 *ille* (Caesar), *ut ad me scripsit, legiones singulas posuit Brundisii, Tarenti, Siponti.* Tarentum is now

Taranto, and Sipontum was near the site of the modern Manfredonia. Troops were also stationed at Hydruntum (Otranto), App. B. C. II. 40.

proficiscitur] Caesar seems to have left Brundisium 18 March; he stopped at Beneventum 25th, Capua 26th, Sinuessa 27th, and had an interview with Cicero at Formiae on the 28th; cp. Cic. Att. IX 15 § 6, 16 § 1, 18, 19 § 1. Plutarch Pomp. 62 makes Caesar visit Rome before the investment of Brundisium, but in Caes. 35 he puts the events in their right order.

2 *coacto senatu*] in the absence of the consuls, the tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius Longinus convoked the senate for 1 April outside the *pomerium*, probably in the temple of Apollo outside the *porta Carmentalis*.

iniurias] so in his speech to his troops at Ravenna (7 § 1) *omnium temporum iniurias inimicorum commemorat.*

extraordinarium honorem] 'extra-ordinary office', i.e. out of the common order. This is a hit at Pompey who had held many offices *extra ordinem.* Note that this word never means 'wonderful' 'astonishing' as the word 'extraordinary' usually does nowadays.

eo...pateret] 'had been content with that which lay open to every citizen'.

3 *latum*] this was a *privilegium* (a law of special application affecting only individuals) carried by the ten tribunes in 52, dispensing Caesar from the obligation of a personal canvas for the consulship. This is the *beneficium populi* mentioned below § 3 and 9 § 2 where see note.

Catone] cp. Liv. epit. 107 *lex lata est ut ratio absentis Caesaris in petitione consulatus haberetur, invito et contradicente M. Catone.*

extrahente] agrees with *Catone*, *mora* is an instrumental ablative ('by delay' or 'obstruction'), *consuetudine* is a modal ablative 'according to his old habit': cp. 33 § 3 *sic triduum disputationibus excusationibusque extrahitur.* Cato was a master of the art of Parliamentary obstruction.

qui si...prohibuisset] Pompey's vacillation in this matter was the subject of much unfavourable criticism. He let the measure pass though manifestly opposed to his own interests, but later on in the year by the *lex Pompeia de iure magistratuum* he caused the original rule, which the proposal of the tribunes had set aside, to be reaffirmed. The Caesarian party, objecting to this, managed to have a special clause inserted exempting Caesar from the operation of the rule. Suetonius Iul. 28 says it was a mere oversight on Pompey's part (*per oblivionem*).

4 *patientiam*] 'longsuffering'.

postulavisset] the demand was first made through C. Curio in 50, Cic. Att. VIII. 14 § 2 *fert illam tamen condicionem ut ambo exercitus tradant;* it was repeated in the letter to the senate in Jan. 49, see above 9 § 3 foll., Suet. Caes. 29 *senatum litteris deprecatus est, ne sibi beneficium populi adimeretur, aut ut ceteri quoque imperatores ab exercitibus discederent.*

facturus esset] 'was ready to make'.

5 *ab altero*] from one of the two rivals, that is, from Caesar himself: they demanded that Caesar should disband his army, but refused in their own case (*in se*), in other words, they refused his proposal that each party should disarm.

omnia permisceri] so the Pompeians accused Caesar *turbare omnia ac permiscere voluisse*, Suet. Caes. 30. The phrase denotes 'general confusion', cp. *omnia confundere* Cic. Acad. II. 53, with Dr Reid's note.

p. 19. 6 *legionibus*] see note on 2 § 3.

circumscribendis] 'circumscribing the freedom of', 'putting restraint on', 'infringing the liberties of': the word means 'to draw a line round' and so 'to enclose', and is used of hindering or restraining a person's freedom of action: cp. 'a man...should not circumscribe his activity by any inflexible fence of rigid rules' (Blackie; qu. in New English Dict.).

colloquia] see e.g. 9 § 6, 26 § 3.

7 *pro quibus rebus*] 'on the strength of' ('as was to be expected from') 'these events'.

rem publicam suscipiant] 'undertake the charge of the state'.

8 *dixisset*] this may refer to some remark made by Pompey in the course of the proceedings narrated in 6: it had been urged, as we learn from 3 § 7, that an official deputation should be sent to Caesar, and this may have led to Pompey's remark that to send envoys attributes too much importance to the person to whom they are sent and argues fear on the part of the sender.

tenuis] 'poor'.

operibus] probably 'actions', 'deeds': KH qu. Liv. I. 16 *his immortalibus editis operibus.*

studuerit] perfect subjunctive = *studui* in direct speech.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1 *rem*] the words *de mittendis legatis* are added as explanatory of *rem;* 'the senate approves the matter, namely, about the sending of envoys': there is something similar in 20 § 4 *quae ignorabant de L. Domitii fuga.*

pro se] 'on his own behalf', to be taken with *recusabat.*

id munus legationis] 'the duty of this embassy'.

2 *discedens*] Pompey's cowardly abandonment of Rome disgusted his friends, cp. for instance Cic. Att. VII. 11 § 4 *fugiens denique Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet.*

3 *triduum*] 1—3 April.

extrahitur] cp. 32 § 3 *Catone...mora dies extrahente* where *mora* is the same kind of ablative as *disputationibus* here.

subicitur] 'is put forward'.

L. Metellus] the tribune's most noteworthy exploit was to plant himself in front of the treasury when Caesar was about to seize the accumulated stores of gold; cp. Lucan III. 114

pugnaxque Metellus
ut videt ingenti Saturnia templa revelli
mole, rapit gressus, et Caesaris agmina rumpens
ante fores nondum reseratae constitit aedis.

He was soon removed by Caesar's threats and the intervention of Cotta. Caesar then appropriated the contents not only of the ordinary treasury but also of the *sanctius aerarium* which by an old tradition was said to be held in reserve for the crisis of another Keltic invasion: cp. Appian B. C. II. 41 and notes on 14 § 1. It is noticeable that Caesar says nothing here about his raid on the treasury.

distrahat] 'thwart'; *hanc rem* is of course the proposed embassy.

quascunque agere instituerit] subjunctive because the clause is subordinate to the final clause *qui...impediat.*

4 *amittat*] 'throw away'.

proficiscitur] probably on 7 April, cp. Cic. Att. X. 8 § 6 *quippe qui florentissimus ac novus VI VII diebus ipsi illi egenti ac perditae multitudini in odium acerbissimum venerit, qui duarum rerum simulationem tam cito amiserit, mansuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in aerario:* from which it appears that Caesar incurred considerable enmity at Rome by his actions on this occasion; cp. also Att. X. 4 § 8.

ulteriorem Galliam] Gaul beyond the Alps in contradistinction to Gallia Cisalpina. Caesar wrote to Cicero *ex itinere* a letter dated 16 April (Att. X. 8 B). M. Stoffel supposes that he reached Massilia, a distance of nearly 590 miles from Rome, about 19 April.

CHAP. XXXIV.

1 *Vibullium Rufum*] cp. 15 § 4 foll.

Corfinio] to be taken with *captum* 'captured at' (with just a notion of 'from'), and therefore an ablative of origin; cp. Cic. Brut. 72 *captum Tarento,* Verr. IV. 82 *Carthagine captum;* Caes. B. C. II. 28 *quas Corfinio receperat* (all quoted by Draeger H. S. I. § 222). "The ablative is evidently an old standing military phrase, cp. Corpus Inscr. I. 530 *M. Claudius M. F. consol Hinnad cepit,* 534 *Aetolia cepit* etc." J. S. R.

2 *Massiliam*] Marseille, a town of great antiquity, was founded by the Phokaeans about 600 B.C.

Igilii] now Giglio, a small island off the promontory of Argentario on the Tuscan coast, where also was Cosa and the ager Cosanus near the modern town of Orbetello.

Cosano] for the omission of *agro* cp. III. 21 § 4 *in Thurinum* followed in 22 § 2 by *in agro Thurino.*

coactas] for *cogere ab aliquo* cp. III. 103 § 1 *quos...a negotiatoribus coegerat.*

colonis] something like our 'tenant-farmers': cp. Cic. p. Caec. 94 *qui colonus habuit conductum de Caesennia fundum.*

3 *domum*] 'to their home' i.e. to Marseille, so in 35 § 3. We do not know what occasioned the presence of these envoys in Rome.

p. 20. *beneficiorum*] the reference is probably partly to the services conferred by Pompey on Massilia and the other seaports of the Mediterranean by his extirpation of the corsairs in 67, and partly to his concessions of territory mentioned in 35 § 4.

4 *Caesari*] 'against Caesar', a kind of dative of disadvantage.

Albicos] the district occupied by this tribe corresponds roughly to the department of Basses Alpes: in 57 § 3 they are described as *asperi et montani et exercitati in armis.*

antiquitus] 'from ancient times', 'from of old'.

5 *officinas*] 'manufactories'; cp. Cic. Phil. VII 13 *armorum officinas in urbe videtis.*

reficiebant] notice the change of tense; 'they were engaged in repairing'.

CHAP. XXXV.

1 *XV primos*] 'the 15 chief men': the senate of Massilia consisted of 600 life members, out of whom was formed a select cabinet of 15

empowered to deal with all ordinary business, while out of this 15 a still more powerful and select body of 3 was chosen, with one of their number to preside. The government was of an aristocratic type and the laws were good. Strabo IV. 5; Valerius Max. II. 6 § 7; Lucian Toxaris 24 (all quoted by Voss ap. Davies). The presidents of the ten *decuriae* forming the senate in many Italian towns were similarly called *decem primi.*

initium...oriatur] for the pleonasm cp. B. G. V. 26 *initium... tumultus...ortum,* VIII. 38 *initium belli esse ortum,* B. C. III. 94 § 3; and for the gerundial form after *initium* cp. III. 20 § 2 *ut reperiri non possent, a quibus initium appellandi nasceretur.* The pleonasm is also common in Cicero and other writers.

2 *sanandas mentes*] 'calm their minds'; cp. II. 30 § 3 *ut maiore spatio temporis interiecto militum mentes sanarentur.*

3 *domum*] 'home', i.e. to Marseille, as in 34 § 3; cp. also B. G. VII. 39 *domi* 'in his own country' and many other passages.

ex auctoritate...renuntiant] 'are authorised to carry back this message': there is no need to understand the genitive *senatus* as KH do, as if Caesar were thinking of the technical phrase *auctoritas senatus* in use at Rome. Dr Reid doubts whether *ex auctoritate* could be used in this general sense of 'by authority' and thinks the words may be a gloss which has taken the place of *publice* or some such word.

iudicii] for the case cp. 13 § 1 *docent sui iudicii rem non esse.*

virium] 'nor were they justified by their power in deciding' etc.; that is, they did not consider themselves a sufficiently powerful state to decide which of the two great rivals had the better cause. Beware of translating *virium* as if it meant merely 'power' in the sense of *capacity* or *ability* to decide.

4 *patronos*] the *patronus* of a town or province was one who undertook to look after its affairs and interests at Rome. The people under the protection of a *patronus* were called his *clientes.*

Volcarum Arecomicorum] this tribe occupied a district on the Gulf of Lyons corresponding to parts of the departments of Herault and Gard. Their chief town was Nemausus (Nîmes).

Helviorum] situated north of the Volcae and corresponding roughly to the department of Ardèche.

publice] 'by public authority', 'in the name of the state'. Nothing apparently is known of this grant of lands by Pompey to the Massiliots.

eis] notice that the reflexive *sibi* referring to the subject of the sentence would seem more natural, but Caesar in his use of the pronouns

often disregards the oblique structure of a sentence; cp. 2 § 3 and several instances in the Gallic war quoted by Draeger H. S. § 29.

victa Gallia alia attribuerit] I adopt Paul's reading. It is not known what grants Caesar made to the Massiliots.

5 *paribus eorum beneficiis*] 'their benefits being equal'.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1 *navibus*] see note on 31 § 3.

summa...permittitur] cp. B. G. v. 11 *summa imperii bellique administrandi communi consilio permissa Cassivellauno.*

2 *deducunt*] see note on 30 § 1.

parum...utuntur] 'those (merchantmen) which were insufficiently provided with bolts or timber and with tackle, they use for fitting out and repairing the rest': *instructis* (sc. *navibus*) is ablative after *utuntur* and *clavis aut materia atque armamentis* are ablative after *instructis.*

clavis] nails or bolts made of iron or copper (Vegetius IV. 34): cp. Plaut. Rud. III. 4. 48 *offerumentas habebis pluris quam ulla navis longa clavos* 'you will have more stripes than a man of war has nails'; B. G. III. 13 *transtra pedalibus in altitudinem trabibus confixa clavis ferreis digiti pollicis crassitudine.*

p. 21. 3 *si accidat*] 'in case it should ensue': this is a protasis standing alone, with its apodosis concealed as it were in the words *ad obsidionem urbis reservant;* the stores *would be useful* for a blockade, *if* one were to ensue.

4 *legiones tres*] three of the four legions under the command of C. Trebonius which had been stationed in Belgic Gaul; cp. B. G. VIII. 54, and note on 18 § 5. The order to Trebonius to march southward had probably been despatched some time before.

agere] this is the regular word for 'moving up' towers etc. These towers were mounted on wheels and were called *turres ambulatoriae:* see the article *turris* in S. D. A. Similar towers were used even after the introduction of gunpowder and so late as 1487 at the siege of Malaga by Ferdinand and Isabella, cp. Prescott Part I. c. 13.

Arelate] Arles.

5 *diebus XXX*] ablative of 'time within which'; 'within 30 days'.

D. Brutum] D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, one of Caesar's officers in Gaul. He afterwards conspired against his chief along with his better known relative M. Iunius Brutus. Like all the rest of Caesar's murderers he subsequently met with a violent death.

C. Trebonium] originally a supporter of the aristocratic party he early espoused the cause of Caesar, and in his tribunate, 55, he proposed the lex Trebonia by which Caesar's tenure of the provincial governorships of the two Gauls and Illyricum was prolonged for another five years. He was made one of Caesar's *legati* and is often mentioned in the Gallic War. He was afterwards one of the conspirators, and was finally murdered by Dolabella in 43.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1 *C. Fabium*] see note on 18 § 5. When we last hear of Fabius, B. G. VIII. 54, he was stationed in winter quarters among the Aedui. Probably the same despatch which ordered him to send a legion to Caesar in Italy also directed him to shift his headquarters to Narbo. The date on which he left Narbo cannot be determined, but is conjectured to have been about 10 May. He would take from 10 to 12 days to reach Ilerda, a distance of about 224 miles.

saltus Pyrenaeos] 'the passes of the Pyrenees': the ordinary route from Narbonese Gaul to Spain probably lay from Narbo through Ruscino (Perpignan) and by the foot of the Puy Camellas through la Junquera, and southwards to Barcino (Barcelona) and Tarraco (Tarragona). There was another pass to the west of this by the valley of the Tet, see below, § 3.

L. Afranio] consul in 60 when he must according to the law have been at least 43 years of age, which would make him not less than 54 at this date. When Pompey in 55 received the control of the Spanish provinces for 5 years he entrusted their administration to Afranius and Petreius; cp. Vell. Pat. II. 48. 1.

2 *reliquas legiones*] this no doubt refers to the three veteran legions which had been under Caesar's command in Italy, the VIIIth, XIIth, and XIIIth. Caesar would thus have 6 veteran legions for the war in Spain; cp. 39 § 2 *Caesar legiones in Hispaniam praemiserat sex.* Stoffel I. 259.

3 *ex saltu deiecit*] Stoffel and Göler agree that the pass here mentioned is that crossed by the road which, branching off from Perpignan to the right, follows the valley of the Tet up to Puigcerda and then descends on the other side by the valley of the Segre or Sicoris to Urgel. But R. Schneider, Ilerda, pp. 1—3, maintains that Fabius took the route above mentioned by Junquera and Gerona.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1 *demonstratum est*] cp. 34 § 1.

Petreius] M. Petreius commanded the forces of the republic in place of M. Antonius in the battle in which Catiline was killed, B.C. 62; Sall. Cat. 59, 60; Cic. p. Sest. 12.

Varro] M. Terentius Varro, best known for his extraordinary erudition and his voluminous works, of which unfortunately the greater part have perished, was a strong supporter of the senatorial party, but after the decisive battle at Pharsalia he surrendered to Caesar and passed the rest of his life in retirement and study. At this date he was about 66. The destruction of his valuable library at Casinum by Antony is referred to by Cicero Phil. II. § 103.

Hispaniam citeriorem] it is perhaps impossible to give the exact limits of this province at this period, but it may be roughly described as comprising the whole of the north-eastern portion of Spain from the Bay of Biscay to the Sierra de Morena (saltus Castulonensis) and Cartagena.

alter] notice that *alter* refers to Varro and *tertius* to Petreius though they had previously been mentioned in reverse order: this is a mark of hasty writing (KH).

ulteriorem] this province comprised most or all of the rest of Spain not included in Hispania citerior; it had two main divisions, one called Baetica, that is, the country between the saltus Castulonensis, with its south-eastern extensions, and the river Anas (Guadiana); the other called Lusitania, for which see below. At a later period Lusitania was made a distinct province, the name Hispania ulterior being reserved for the abridged province of Baetica.

Vettonum] the Vettones occupied a district about covering the provinces of Caceres and Salamanca, between the Durius (Douro) and the Anas.

Lusitaniam] the third main division of Roman Hispania, comprising the country bounded by the Durius, the sea, and the Anas. The extreme north-western corner of Spain, Gallaecia and Asturia, may have been considered at this time as belonging to Lusitania.

2 *ad Afranium*] Afranius was stationed at Ilerda (Lerida) on the Sicoris (Segre).

3 *toti Lusitaniae*] dative after *imperantur;* so too the following datives *Celtiberiae* etc.: *imperare aliquid alicui* is to order a person to furnish

something, and is especially used of levying troops; cp. B. G. V. I *civitatibus milites imperat* 'orders the states to furnish soldiers', VII. 66 *equites...qui toti Galliae erant imperati* 'who were requisitioned from the whole of Gaul'; B. C. III. 31 § 2 *civitatibus tyrannisque magnas imperaverat pecunias.*

Celtiberiae] the country of the Celtiberi, corresponding roughly to the provinces of Guadalajara and Cuenca. Their name signifies that they were a mixed race of Celts and Iberians: cp. Lucan IV. 9 *profugique a gente vetusta | Gallorum Celtae miscentes nomen Hiberis.*

Cantabris] a powerful tribe on the N. coast, from whom the Bay of Biscay received the name of mare Cantabricum. They were with difficulty reduced to subjection under Augustus; cp. Horace Od. I. 6, III. 8.

barbarisque omnibus] such perhaps as the Vascones, Caristi, Autrigones, Astures, etc., who all 'extend to the ocean' (*ad Oceanum pertinent*).

4 *ipsius loci*] 'the place in itself'; that is, the natural advantages of the place were very great. Ilerda (Lerida) was situated on an isolated hill about 800 feet in height on the left bank of the Segre: cp. Lucan IV. 11 *colle tumet modico lenique excrevit in altum | pingue solum tumulo: super hunc fundata vetusta | surgit Ilerda manu.* An examination of the district has rendered it probable that the Pompeians encamped on the hill of Gardeny about 3 kilomètres S. of Ilerda.

CHAP. XXXIX.

p. 22. 1 *scutatae*] after mentioning the veteran legions Caesar proceeds to enumerate the auxiliary forces. The *scutatae cohortes* were heavily armed cohorts, the *scutum* being a long shield made of a framework of wood covered with leather; the *cetratae* on the other hand were light armed troops, carrying the *cetra*, a light Spanish shield; cp. Lucan VII. 232 *illic pugnaces commovit Iberia cetras.*

ulterioris Hispaniae] Madvig would omit these words, but the omission of *Hispaniae* alone would, I think, be sufficient. The *scutatae* were drawn from the *citerior provincia*, the *cetratae* from the *ulterior*, and the cavalry from both; true, that we read of *cetratae* belonging to the hither province in 48 § 6 and 75 § 2, but there is nothing in the present passage to *exclude altogether* either *cetratae* from the hither province or *scutatae* from the farther province, as Nipperdey and others assume when they propose to omit from the present text the three

genitives *citerioris provinciae, ulterioris Hispaniae, utriusque provinciae.* The objection to the word *Hispaniae* of course is that Caesar would not be likely to insert it directly after *provinciae* which could so easily be supplied again with the adjective *ulterioris.*

LXXX] M. Stoffel, judging from the disposition of the Pompeian forces in 83 § 1, thinks this number too large, and proposes to read *XXX.*

2 *auxilia peditum V milia*] the text here is in a hopelessly disordered state: the reading here given is the one generally adopted and is to a certain extent supported by Cicero Att. IX. 13 § 4 *nam ego hunc ita paratum video peditatu, equitatu, classibus, auxiliis Gallorum, quos Matius ἐλάπιζεν, ut puto, sed certe dicebat peditum decem milia, equitum sex polliceri sumptu suo annos decem.* It will be seen that Cicero here gives the exact double of the *equitum III milia* mentioned by Caesar, and so agrees with Caesar's statement that he doubled his cavalry force by raising 3000 horsemen in Gaul (*parem ex Gallia numerum*); and on the same ground it is inferred that if the very doubtful reading *peditum decem milia* in Cicero be assumed correct we should be justified in reading *peditum V milia* in Caesar.

quae] this is only found in one late MS, but improves the sense. Caesar had 3000 cavalry during his previous campaigns, and he now levies another 3000 from Gaul. It is probable that the words *parem ex Gallia numerum* also refer back to the (supposed) *peditum V milia*, so that we are to understand Caesar as meaning that he doubled the infantry as well as the cavalry of his auxiliary force. The student will notice how much supposition is required to make any tolerable sense out of a large portion of this chapter.

pacaverat] Caesar had crushed Gaul into submission by a war of nine years duration; this he calls 'pacification'.

huc] the text is again defective: for *huc* the MSS have *hinc* and after *attingunt* some words are lost; *adiecerat* is a conjectural insertion: one of the genitives *optimi generis* or *hominum* seems to depend on some number that has been lost; this number may lie concealed in the word *hinc*, or perhaps *mille* (written *m*) has fallen out after the *m* of *hominum;* cp. III. 84 § 4 *equitum mille.* KH take *optimi generis* as a partitive genitive '(some of) an excellent class of men', comparing III. 4 § 6 *huc Dardanos...Macedones, Thessalos ac reliquarum gentium et civitatum adiecerat.*

Aquitanis] the Aquitani forming one of the three main divisions of Gaul belonged to the Iberian race. They occupied the S.W. of Gaul

between the ocean, the upper course of the Garonne, M. Corbières and the Pyrenees.

3 *audierat*] the beginning of the sentence is apparently lost and with it the subject of *audierat*, possibly Varro. The report about Pompey's approach was baseless.

sumpsit] KH consider that the subject of this sentence as well as of the last is some other than Caesar.

4 *quod...devinxit*] this does not imply that the officers were wavering in their allegiance, but that their enthusiasm would be stimulated by the knowledge that only by a victory and the consequent spoils of war would their loan be repaid.

redemit] 'purchased'; cp. B. G. I. 44 *quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere posset.*

CHAP. XL.

1 *pontes*] these no doubt crossed the Segre between Ilerda and the confluence of the Noguera Rivagorzana with the Segre about 6 miles (10 kilomètres) N.E. of Ilerda. Caesar says they were 4 miles apart, and we may fairly assume that the lower bridge was about 3 kil. above Ilerda, and the upper about 1 kil. below the junction of the two rivers. M. Stoffel places Fabius' camp on the right bank near the lower bridge and about 2 miles N. of Ilerda. I adopt this view as to the situation of the camp and bridges, after careful consideration, in preference to that of Herr Schneider who places the lower bridge, together with the camp adjacent, near the confluence of the rivers, and so at a distance of about 10 kil. from Ilerda, and the upper bridge 4 miles farther up stream.

his pontibus] ablative of way or direction; cp. B. G. V. 19 *omnibus viis semitisque essedarios ex silvis emittebat;* Roby § 1176.

citra] 'on this side' i.e. on Fabius' side, consequently on the right bank.

2 *hoc idem fere*] 'something of the same kind': cp. B. G. VI. 17 *de his eandem fere quam reliquae gentes opinionem habent.* But Dr Reid prefers to take *fere* with the verb *faciebant.*

Pompeiani] the Pompeian troops crossed by a bridge of their own (cp. § 4 *suo ponte*) which connected Ilerda with the opposite bank. It was made of stone, cp. Lucan IV. 15 *saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu.*

3 *huc*] 'hither' i.e. to the parts across the river: but the text may be unsound.

praesidio] dative, 'to protect'.

propiore] the one nearer to Ilerda.

impedimenta] beasts of burden (or wagons?) for bringing back supplies, cp. B. G. VII. 45 *magnum numerum impedimentorum ex castris mulorumque produci...iubet.* See too below 51 § 6.

4 *quo cognito a Petreio*] 'and this having been discovered by Petreius', 'having become known to Petreius'.

ex] 'by reason of', 'through'.

traiecit] 'threw across', cp. 54 § 4 *huc legionem postea traiecit:* the word may also take an accusative of the place crossed, as in 55 § 1 *equitum magnam partem flumen traiecit;* 83 § 5.

occurrit] probably, but not certainly, the perfect: in B. G. IV. 26 the MSS agree in the form *occurrerat*, but in B. C. III. 92 § 2 one MS has *occucurrissent*, and in III. 93, 94 similar variations of *procurrere* are found three times. The shorter form of the perfect was doubtless preferred in all compounds of *curro*.

5 *Plancus*] L. Munatius Plancus had been one of Caesar's legates in Gaul, B. G. V. 24. He attained the consulship in 42.

p. 23. *necessaria re coactus*] 'under the stress of necessity': the same phrase probably underlies the MS variations in B. G. I. 17; cp. Cic. Verr. II. 3. 72 *Siculos re necessaria coactos;* so *necessario cogere* occurs in III. 49 § 5 and in Cicero.

superiorem] there is a long stretch of high ground running parallel with the stream on the left bank of the Segre.

diversam...constituit] 'draws up his lines facing in opposite directions'; that is, he placed his legions back to back; 'les adossa l'une à l'autre' (Stoffel).

constituit] probably a present tense like *capit*, in which case the imperfect *posset* 'might be able' is used irregularly for *possit* 'may be able'. On the other hand *constituit* may be perfect, an abrupt change from present to perfect not being unusual.

7 *ulteriore*] the bridge up stream farthest from Ilerda.

beneficio fortunae] the same phrase in III. 26 § 4, 95 § 1.

CHAP. XLI.

1 *eo biduo*] 'two days after that'; cp. *eo triduo* 18 § 5.

reliquerat] out of the whole cavalry force mentioned in 39 § 2

Caesar had left or retained 900 to serve as his own body-guard; the rest had been sent forward under Fabius.

in castra pervenit] four old Roman calendars give 2 Aug. as the date of the capitulation of Afranius and Petreius. Curio in his speech II. 32 § 5 states that Caesar effected the conquest in 40 days from his first appearance before the Pompeian camp, which would thus fall 23 June. From § 2 we learn that he took up his position before the hill of Gardeny, where the Pompeians were encamped, the day after his arrival at the camp of Fabius. He therefore reached the latter 22 June. The journey from Massilia to Ilerda, a distance of about 394 miles, might take 18 days (Stoffel), which would make the date of his leaving Massilia about 5 June. These dates must of course not be regarded as anything more than approximate, for we cannot be sure that Curio's 40 days is to be interpreted strictly.

tempestate] this word, which originally meant a period of time, then weather good or bad, came to mean usually bad or 'tempestuous' weather; so too *valetudo* which was originally any state of health came to mean bad health, whence our 'valetudinarian'.

2 *sex cohortes*] probably one from each of his six legions.

triplici instructa acie] the army consisting of 54 (60 – 6) cohorts was drawn up before starting in three lines: by a quarter-turn to the right they were formed into three columns, and so marched to their destination. When the heads of the columns reached the right of the hill of Gardeny a quarter-turn to the left would bring them back into three lines ready for action (Stoffel).

sub armis] this and *in armis* are used indifferently; cp. below § 4 *acies in armis...permanebat.*

in medio colle] 'half way up the hill'.

3 *stare*] 'that it was only owing to Afranius that a pitched battle was not fought': cp. II. 13 § 4 *graviterque eam rem tulerunt quod stetisse per Trebonium, quo minus oppido potirentur, videbatur:* in this usage *stare* takes *quin* or *quo minus* or *ne.*

intermissis] with *ab*, 'at an interval of about 400 paces from'.

4 *quod...erat*] 'which could not fail to be a prominent object and visible from afar'.

XV] this denotes the width of the fosse at the top, not the depth.

post hos] cp. Lucan IV. 28 *prono tum Caesar Olympo* | *in noctem subita circumdedit agmina fossa,* | *dum primae perstant* (or *praestant*) *acies, hostemque fefellit,* | *et prope consertis obduxit castra maniplis.*

5 *intellegeretur*] 'it should be understood': see note on 22 § 2.

6 *sub vesperum*] 'about the evening': *sub* with accusative may mean 'just before' or 'just after'.

CHAP. XLII.

1 *postero die*] presumably 24 June: see on 41 § 1.

p. 24. *quod...petendus*] proper material for an *agger* would have been difficult to get; Caesar therefore confined himself for the present to drawing a wide trench round his camp.

similem] that is, like what it had been the day before. It will be remembered that he had then made the third line of his troops excavate the fosse behind the other two lines which were confronting the foe; he now proceeds with each of the three remaining sides of the encampment in the same way, appointing one legion to make the fosse on each side, thus employing three legions simultaneously, while the three remaining legions kept guard on the side facing the enemy.

ad] we should say 'of' the same size: *ad* denotes the standard of comparison.

in armis] like *sub armis* 'under arms': then *expeditas* will be 'lightly equipped', that is, not encumbered with any unnecessary weight. Paul absurdly concludes from B. G. VII. 11 §§ 6, 8 that the two expressions *in armis* and *expeditas* mean the same thing, and would therefore eject one of them here.

2 *atque*] 'and so'; for the form of the sentence cp. 41 § 4 *ne...hostium incursu exterrerentur atque opere prohiberentur.*

3 *neque*] = *neque tamen.*

praesidio] the ablative expresses the ground of his confidence; 'by reason of the protection'; see note on 12 § 3 and cp. 58 § 1, 75 § 3.

munitione fossae] *fossae* is a genitive of quality or description expressing the nature of the *munitio*, 'the defensive work of the fosse'.

5 *tertio die*] 25 June.

vallo] this probably denotes a stout palisading fixed in the bank of earth produced from the excavation of the fosse: 'a palisaded rampart'. This would of course surround the camp *inside* the fosse.

reliquas cohortes] the six cohorts left in charge of Fabius' camp.

CHAP. XLIII.

1 *planities*] this, and not *planicies*, is no doubt the right spelling. There is very little authority for the form *planitia* adopted here by Paul.

tumulus] this is the Puig Bordel, a slight eminence in the plain between Ilerda and the site of Afranius' camp.

2 *occupavisset*] 'should occupy'; literally, 'should have occupied', the act being regarded from the point of view of the ensuing result. So in such sentences as 'he offers a reward to anyone who should do this', we should write *hoc fecisset*, lit. 'should have done this'.

3 *legiones III*] we know from the subsequent narrative that two of these were the IXth and the XIVth.

unius legionis] the XIVth.

antesignanos] what the *antesignani* were is a question that has been much debated and perhaps does not now admit of solution. Three views may here be mentioned: (i) They were the four cohorts forming the first line of the legion, drawn up in front of the *signa*, behind which came the other two lines, consisting of three cohorts each. The number of the *antesignani* would thus be $\frac{2}{5}$th ($\frac{4}{10}$ths) of the whole legion, which, assuming the XIVth legion to have contained 3000 men (Stoffel's estimate), would be 1200. (ii) They were the two front ranks of the ten cohorts which were drawn up in *one* line, 8 ranks deep. The 30 *signa* of the different maniples (of which there were three to a cohort) were carried in the second rank, and the men of this rank as well as of the first were called *antesignani*, while the remaining 6 ranks were *postsignani*. If the legion contained 3000 men, the two front ranks would contain $\frac{2}{8}$ths or $\frac{1}{4}$th of the whole, that is, 750 men. This is M. Stoffel's view which he developes at some length vol. II. p. 329 foll. (iii) They were not any definite portion of a legion, but were merely a body of men of uncertain number picked from the legion and employed in any sudden emergency where there was need of a small force of tried courage and able to execute rapid movements. Whichever of these views be adopted, and I incline to the first, it will be seen that the *antesignani* were reckoned the best soldiers in the legion. On the whole subject see MM. V. 342 foll.; Göler, Bürgerkrieg p. 36 foll., Stoffel II. 329 foll., S. D. A. s.v. *exercitus*.

4 *breviore itinere*] Caesar's three legions were apparently drawn up in a line fronting Ilerda, Puig Bordel and Gardeny, the XIVth being on the left of his position and so the farthest from Gardeny and the IXth in the centre. The *antesignani* were suddenly detached from the XIVth to seize Bordel but were anticipated by the cohorts of Afranius which were not so far off.

5 *aliis submissis subsidiis*] 'when other reserves had been sent up', by Afranius to assist his cohorts that had occupied the mound.

CHAP. XLIV.

1 *ut*] the clause with *ut* is explanatory of the noun in the main clause (*genus*): cp. II. 18 § 6 *ratio autem haec erat belli ut se...conferret* (qu. by KH); Cic. Verr. II. 129 *est consuetudo Siculorum...ut nonnunquam...eximant:* Draeger HS. II. § 405.

rari dispersique] 'singly and in scattered order'.

p. 25. 2 *assuefacti*] with ablative 'habituated in'; cp. B. G. IV. 1 *nullo officio aut disciplina assuefacti*, 3 *Gallicis sunt moribus assuefacti.*

3 *quod*] probably the relative, not 'because': 'a thing which usually happens'; this is further explained by the *ut* clause which follows.

4 *insuetos huius generis pugnae*] for the genitive with *insuetus* cp. III. 49 § 3; B. G. V. 6, VII. 30: it can also take an ablative as in Livy XXVIII. 18 *insuetus moribus Romanis.* Notice that *pugnae* may be the genitive after *generis* or vice versa; you can say *hoc genus pugnae* or *pugna huius generis* without any appreciable difference in the meaning; cp. 39 § 2.

ab aperto latere] 'on their exposed flank', i.e. on their left; they were afraid of the XIVth legion being outflanked: sometimes the preposition is omitted in this phrase, in which case it is a local ablative, cp. B. G. I. 25, II. 23.

ipsi...oportere] the text is probably faulty. KH say '*oportet* can take a simple infinitive when the subject is indefinite, but requires an accusative and infinitive when the subject is definite: with *discedere* and *servare* the subject is indefinite, "one must" etc.; with *dimitti* the implied subject is definite' i.e. 'they did not think it right that they should relinquish' etc. This explanation may be adopted as a temporary expedient.

5 *in eo cornu*] the left wing which was occupied by the XIVth.

proximum collem] apparently some rising ground at the back of their position and westward of Puig Bordel. Stoffel calls it Las Collades.

CHAP. XLV.

2 *dum...volunt*] *dum* with the present indicative is here equivalent to a present participle; 'wishing to heal', 'in their wish to heal'.

sarcire] so in III. 67 § 2 *cupiens eius diei detrimentum sarcire*, 73 § 5 *ut acceptum incommodum virtute sarciretur*, 74 § 2 *studium infamiae sarciendae.*

locum iniquum] the hill on which Ilerda is built is precipitous and difficult of access except on the S.W. side, where there is a slope leading up from the plain to the top of the plateau and partly enclosed by two projecting spurs of rock, one of which, that on the S.E. side of the slope, forms a long narrow and steep ledge. The men of the IXth incautiously pursuing the retreating Pompeians up this slope found themselves, when the latter turned to bay under the walls of the town, in an extremely critical situation. They were hemmed in on the narrow slope by the two flanking spurs of rock and exposed to a shower of missiles from the enemy who were on higher ground and had the walls of the town at their back. To retreat down the slope would of course be fatal. Nothing was left for them to do but to hold their position as well as they could.

4 *praeruptus*] 'the place was precipitous with a steep descent on either side'. This describes the two walls of rock running downwards from the town and skirting the slope on either side. For the juxtaposition of the words *praeruptus* and *derectus* cp. II. 24 § 3 *id autem est iugum derectum, eminens in mare, utraque ex parte praeruptum atque asperum.*

latitudinem] the extreme width of the slope near the lower end measured between the lateral escarpments of the two spurs of rock is stated by M. Stoffel to be about 340 yards: *nulli telum vibrare vacabat* says Lucan IV. 40.

ut...explerent] 'as just to give room for three cohorts drawn up in battle array': notice that *eum* would have been sufficient without the addition of *locum*.

5 *tenui fastigio*] 'by a slight descent': I see no objection to the word *tenuis* thus used, though Hotoman and Paul read *leni* comparing II. 24 § 3 *paulo leniore fastigio...ad Uticam vergit.*

passus circiter CCCC] Stoffel estimates the length of the rise at 600 yards or about 400 paces.

6 *incitati studio*] above § 2 *elati studio.*

nitebantur] 'struggled', 'strove': *virtute* and *patientia* are modal ablatives, 'with courage and endurance': it would not make such good sense to take them as ablatives after *nitebantur* meaning 'they relied on their courage and endurance', though this would be grammatically possible, cp. B. G. VIII. 10 *tamen Germanorum adventu barbari nitebantur* 'relied on the arrival': with the present passage cp. B. G. IV. 24 *non eadem alacritate ac studio...nitebantur* (al. *utebantur*).

7 *illis*] the Pompeians.

per oppidum] apparently the reinforcements sent by Afranius from

his camp followed the bank of the river and entered the town by way of the stone bridge (not of course *over* the bridge, as they were on the town side of the river) and so passed through the town to the gates opening on to the above-mentioned slope.

integri] for this antithesis of *integri* and *defessi* 'fresh' and 'exhausted' cp. B. G. v. 16, VII. 41, 48, 85; B. C. III. 40, 94.

p. 26. 8 *ut...reciperet*] the *ut* clause is explanatory of *facere*, as in 44 § 3 it is explanatory of *fit*.

CHAP. XLVI.

1 *hoc cum esset modo*] for the order cp. 80 § 1 *tali dum pugnatur modo.*

horis quinque] ablative of 'time throughout which', a development of the commoner usage of 'time in the course of which', Roby § 1184: cp. 47 § 3 *nostri...quod quinque horis proelium sustinuissent;* B. G. III. 5 *cum iam amplius horis sex continenter pugnaretur.*

gladiis destrictis] this ablative is not coordinate with *consumptis telis* but expresses a subsequent action: 'having spent all their javelins they drew their swords and charged' etc.

2 *summotis sub murum*] 'having been driven up close under the wall', cp. 45 § 2 *sub montem...succedunt.*

non nullam partem] 'to some extent'; for the adverbial accusative cp. B. G. IV. 1 *maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt.*

receptus] 'withdrawal'.

3 *equitatus*] cp. Lucan IV. 43 *vidit lapsura ruina | agmina dux equitemque iubet succedere bello, | munitumque latus laevo producere gyro:* approaching the slope from the S.E. they would turn to the left (*laevo gyro*) and riding between the opposing forces (*inter duas acies perequitans*) would extend before the infantry their protected (i.e. left) side: but Lucan's account is sadly confused, see Mr Haskins' note.

deiectis atque inferioribus] this is not mere tautology, *deiectus* marks the sudden drop of the ground, while *inferior* denotes its lower level: tr. 'on low-lying ground at the foot of the cliff'.

conititur] a word expressive of great exertion, frequent in Vergil and Livy, but only here in Caesar.

4 *ex primo hastato*] to understand this aright one must have some idea of the constitution of a Roman legion. Before the military reforms of Marius a legion was drawn up in three lines, called respectively *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, the last-named being the highest in point of dignity. Each line contained 10 maniples, and in each maniple there were two

officers called *centuriones*, one called *prior* and the other *posterior*. There were thus 60 centurions in a legion, and the lowest in rank was the *posterior* of the 10th maniple of the *hastati*, the *decimus hastatus posterior*, while the highest was the *prior* of the first maniple of the *triarii*, or, as he was usually called for brevity, the *primipilus* (*pilus* meaning *triarius*). After Marius the legion was divided into 10 cohorts, each cohort containing 3 maniples, and, as before, each maniple had its *prior* and its *posterior centurio*. In order to distinguish the different centurions the old names were retained, and the 6 centurions of any cohort, say the first, would be thus designated:—

prior and *posterior hastatus*
prior and *posterior princeps* } *primae cohortis*.
prior and *posterior pilus*

The lowest in rank of the 60 centurions was the *posterior hastatus* of the 10th cohort, and the highest was the *prior pilus* of the first cohort, or, as he was usually called, the *primipilus*. Apparently a man rose by successive steps from the lowest to the highest place; thus he might begin by being *posterior hastatus* of the 10th cohort, then *posterior hastatus* of the 9th, and so on to the 1st cohort, after which he would be *posterior princeps* of the 10 cohorts in order, beginning with the 10th, then *posterior triarius* in the same order, after this he would go through the 10 cohorts first as *prior hastatus*, then as *prior princeps*, then as *prior triarius*, reaching the highest point as *prior triarius* (or *primipilus*) of the first cohort. Another well supported view is that a man did not go from one cohort to another as here described, but passed through all the posts in one cohort at a time; thus he would be (1) *posterior hastatus*, (2) *prior hastatus*, (3) *posterior princeps*, (4) *prior princeps*, (5) *posterior triarius*, (6) *prior triarius* in the 10th cohort, and so on through the remaining cohorts, till, as before, he reached the highest post of *prior triarius* or *primipilus* of the first cohort. It should be remarked that each cohort was commanded by its senior centurion, that is, by its *prior triarius* (*primipilus*). In the present passage *hastato* appears to be used for *manipulo hastatorum*, and the meaning is that Fulginius 'belonged to' (*ex*) the first maniple of the *hastati*, that is, he was the *prior hastatus* of the first cohort; on the other hand T. Caecilius, mentioned directly after, was the *primi pili centurio* (=*primipilus*), that is, the highest of all the centurions of the XIVth legion. The chief authorities on this difficult subject are given by Dr H. Schiller in his Kriegsaltertümer in Müller's Handbuch.

ex inferioribus ordinibus] 'from the lower posts': *ordo* here means the post of centurion, sometimes the centurion himself is called *ordo*. It is not quite clear whether Caesar means it to be inferred that Fulginius was promoted at once to be *prior hastatus* without going through all the intermediate gradations. Possibly the gradual advancement described above was chiefly theoretical, and not always adhered to in practice.

CHAP. XLVII.

1 *opinio*] with genitive means the general opinion or belief about a thing, and so comes often to mean 'reputation', cp. B. G. II. 24 *quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio est singularis*.

existimarent] observe the historic present *praefertur* followed by the imperfect; cp. 48 § 1 *cooritur ut...constaret*.

2 *esse*] there is no need for *esse* here and I suspect from its awkward position that it is an interpolation.

initio] 'at the outset': with *ab initio* (Paul) the meaning would be 'from the outset'.

quae] one would expect *qui* referring to *tumulum*, but the relative is attracted by the noun of the predicate; cp. B. G. II. 1 *Belgas quam tertiam esse Galliae partem dixeramus*, where *quos* would be more natural.

3 *horis*] see note on 46 § 1.

ex loco superiore] to be taken closely with *terga vertere* 'to retreat from their higher position'.

4 *illi*] the troops of Afranius.

tumulum] the Puig Bordel.

CHAP. XLVIII.

1 *biduo*] 28 June, assuming the battle to have been on the 26th. For the ablative of 'time in the course of which' cp. Roby § 1182, Cic. p. Rosc. Am. 20 *quatriduo quo haec gesta sunt res ad Chrysogonum ...defertur*.

p. 27. *aquas*] 'floods', cp. Liv. XXIV. 9 *aquae magnae bis eo anno fuerunt*.

constaret] for the tense cp. *existimarent* 47 § 1.

2 *tum autem*] 'on this occasion moreover': *autem* serves to add something to the preceding statement; not only was there a great rainfall, but there was also the melting of the snow.

proluit] 'washes down', in the form of water: cp. Lucan IV. 83 *iamque Pyrenaeae quas nunquam solvere Titan | evaluit fluxere nives, fractoque madescunt | saxa gelu.* The whole of Lucan's rather turgid description of this storm and flood should be read.

3 *ut supra*] Caesar had not expressly stated before that his camp was between two rivers, but a glance at the map will show that it was so.

Cingam] the Cinga (now Cinca) joins the Segre on the right about 5 or 6 miles from the junction of the latter with the Ebro, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, following Lucan IV. 21 foll., that the Segre joins the Cinca. Between them lies for the most part a level plain, Lucan IV. 19 *explicat hinc tellus campos effusa patentes | vix oculo prendente modum.* To this plain Caesar was now confined, as each river was too swollen for 30 miles of its course to admit of being crossed. There are said to be traces of a brook which in such weather might easily become a torrent, running through Caesar's lines, cp. Lucan IV. 87 *iam naufraga campo | Caesaris arma natant impulsaque gurgite multo | castra labant;* to this watercourse Lucan may refer in the words *medius dirimit tentoria gurges* IV. 18, where *tentoria* may be Caesar's tents.

4 *veniebant*] 'were on their way'.

5 *frumenta*] the standing crops, to be distinguished from *frumentum:* cp. B. G. VI. 29 *cum maturescere frumenta inciperent*, and elsewhere.

hibernis] at first sight this does not seem to suit *frumenta* ('standing crops'), but the plural *frumenta* may be conditioned by the following clause *neque multum a maturitate aberant.* I therefore hesitate to accept *herbis* the ingenious conjecture of Hellebodius: cp. M. Cato in A. Gellius XIII. 18 *nunc ita aiunt, in segetibus, in herbis bona frumenta esse* (qu. by Davies): 'on the one hand, the corn was not in the green blade, so as to be good for forage; and, on the other, it was not ripe enough to supply food for men'. (Moberley.)

exinanitae] 'impoverished'.

reliqui] partitive genitive after *quid*, practically the same as *si quid relictum fuerat.*

7 *levis armaturae*] a genitive of description after *Lusitani;* cp. 83 § 5 *Germanos levis armaturae.*

cetrati] see note on 39 § 1.

proclive] properly 'sloping', 'downhill', hence 'easy', 'natural': in this derived sense we use the word 'proclivity'.

quod] this *quod*, as in 44 § 3, shows how easily and imperceptibly

the neuter relative becomes the conjunction; it might be either: in both passages a further explanation is added by an *ut* clause.

utribus] cp. Livy XXI. 27 quoted by KH. Bladders are still used for the same purpose in uncivilised countries.

CHAP. XLIX.

1 *suppetebat*] *suppetere* 'to be in stock', 'to be at hand', is used in four other places in Caesar with *copia*, and twice with *vires* for subject.

2 *integra*] 'untouched'.

quo] referring to *loca*, 'to which' in sense of *ad quae;* cp. B. G. II. 16 *in eum locum coniecisse, quo propter paludes exercitui aditus non esset.*

omnino] with *non*, 'quite not', 'was quite unable to approach'.

CHAP. L.

p. 28. 1 *permittebat*] one must mentally supply some such words as *ut eos reficeret.*

perfici] the subject is *eos* (meaning *pontes*) to be supplied from the context.

2 *fluminis natura*] because it flowed between steep banks.

3 *rapidissimo flumine*] an ablative of attendant circumstances; 'when the stream was so rapid'.

CHAP. LI.

1 *habeant*] the mood shows that this clause is to be treated as a part of the message; had it been a direct statement by the writer *habent* would have been used.

Rutenis] they occupied a district corresponding more or less to the department of Aveyron north of the river Tarn. Their chief town was Segodunum now Rodez.

Gallia] Gaul in general: the *sagittarii* came only from the *Ruteni*, but the cavalry were drawn from all parts of Gaul.

fert] for this use of *ferre* cp. B. G. IV. 32, VI. 7, VIII. 12, etc. The number of cars and the amount of baggage would naturally mark the wealth and ostentation of the Gallic *equites* as described by Caesar B. G. VI. 15; cp. Strabo IV. 4. 5.

2 *cuiusque generis*] probably the genitive after *hominum*, 'men of every sort'.

cum...uteretur] 'as each followed', or 'each following'.

superiorum] 'using the license of former days and former journeys'.

3 *senatorum...equestris*] 'sons of senators and men of equestrian rank'; the phrase is in apposition to and in explanation of *honesti adulescentes*.

flumina] the Segre and its tributary streams.

4 *sese...expediunt*] 'rally'.

5 *dum...potuit*] 'so long as the struggle could be conducted on an equal footing', i.e. so long as only cavalry were opposed to cavalry.

sustinuere] 'one of the few passages where Caesar uses this form of the perfect', KH, who quote B. G. III. 21 *vertere*, B. C. III. 63 § 6 *accessere*.

6 *magnum...momentum*] 'was of great moment for the safety of our men': the resistance offered by the cavalry gave time for the main body to withdraw to the neighbouring heights.

calonum] 'camp followers'.

impedimentorum] probably 'beasts of burden': cp. note on 40 § 3.

CHAP. LII.

1 *tamen*] 'notwithstanding': the favourable circumstances mentioned at the end of the last chapter were counterbalanced by the serious dearth of provisions. But perhaps *tum* should be read for *tamen*.

omnibus] the neuter ablative is not often used for *omnibus rebus*; for instances see Draeger H. S. I. § 21, Reid on Cic. Am. § 23.

quae...consuevit] 'a thing which invariably increases' ('grows worse'), 'not merely from the present dearth but also from the fear for the future'.

2 *denarios L*] £1. 15*s*. 5*d*., the *denarius* being equal to 8½*d*. The market price of corn at this time seems to have been between 3 and 4 sesterces, that is, just under one denarius; cp. Cic. Verr. III. §§ 163, 196. The Roman *modius* was about a quarter of a bushel.

p. 29. 3 *et tam*] if the reading be right, *tam* may be taken either with *paucis diebus* 'in so few days', in which case the following *ut* must be considered as equivalent to *ita ut* 'so that'; or, notwithstanding the intervening *paucis diebus*, with *magna* 'so great', in which case an *ita* must be mentally supplied with *inclinaverat* because *tam* cannot qualify verbs. The difficulty is obviated by altering *et tam* to *ita*, as suggested by Meusel and adopted by Paul.

inclinaverat] a metaphor from the balance: 'the scale of fortune had inclined': cp. Cic. Fam. II. 16 § 1 *qui ab excitata fortuna ad inclinatam et prope iacentem desciscerem.*

4 *minor*] 'too small'.

tutabatur] it is not clear whether this means 'warded off', like *defendebat*, or 'supported', like *sustentabat*, nor can any example be quoted of either of these meanings for *tutari*, which properly means 'to protect': hence Paul reads here *sustentabat;* cp. B. G. VII. 17 *pecore ex longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem sustentarent.*

CHAP. LIII.

1 *pleniora*] the comparative implies 'fuller than the truth', *pleniora vero:* translate 'an amplified and exaggerated account': cp. II. 17 § 3 *haec ad suos latius atque inflatius Afranius perscribebat.*

2 *multa rumore affingebantur*] 'rumour added many additional fictions'; cp. B. G. VII. 1 *addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli quod res poscere videbatur.* But the reading of the present passage is very doubtful.

3 *domum...ad Afranium*] equivalent to *ad domum Afranii:* the accusative *domum* is governed by the idea of 'motion towards' conveyed by *concursus fiebant.*

alii...alii] 'some'...'others', subdivisions of the *multi.*

principes] 'the first', like *primi;* cp. B. G. I. 41 *princepsque decima legio per tribunos militum ei gratias egit* 'first of all'.

CHAP. LIV.

1 *militibus equitibusque*] 'infantry and cavalry' as in B. G. V. 10 *milites equitesque in expeditionem misit,* B. C. III 47 § 2 *cum ipsi numero equitum militumque praestarent.*

cuius generis] = *eius generis quod* 'of the same kind as'.

superioribus annis] 55 and 54, in which years Caesar made his two invasions of Britain.

usus Britanniae] 'his experience about ('in the matter of') Britain', a loosely constructed genitive, but not so harsh as *itinere Asiae Syriaeque* in 4 § 5 with which KH compare it. The phrase 'experience of Britain' though apparently similar is really not quite parallel.

2 *prima*] 'first', 'initial', almost in the sense of 'indispensable'.

statumina] this and the verb *statuminare* are technical terms in

building. The word seems here to mean the girders or ribs forming the bottom framework of the vessel. These were made of light timber (*materia*).

viminibus contextum] 'wattled': these vessels though of similar structure were surely much larger than the Severn coracles with which Mr Moberley compares them.

3 *carris iunctis*] 'wagons having been coupled', that is, having had the horses coupled or attached. This seems to be the meaning, though *iunctis* is not often applied to the vehicle; LS quote Cic. Att. VI. 1 § 25 *reda equis iuncta*, Liv. XXXIV. 1 *neve iuncto vehiculo veheretur*.

XXII] this distance would take them, according to Stoffel, to the little town of San Lorens on the right bank of the Segre. But how did these wagons cross the Noguera Rivagorzana, especially as it must have been more or less in flood? And how on this long journey did they escape the notice of the enemy, when, as Caesar himself says, all the roads were beset by Afranius' horse and foot? M. Stoffel ignores the difficulty.

4 *sentiatur*] see note on 41 § 5.

CHAP. LV.

p. 30. 1 *traiecit*] 'threw across'; cp. 40 § 4 *legiones III equitatumque omnem traiecit*.

3 *procurrerat*] see note on *occurrit* 40 § 4.

eodem ponte] ablative of way or direction, of which there are four instances with *pons* in 40.

CHAP. LVI.

1 *Massilienses*] the scene now shifts to Massilia, and the narrative is taken up from 36.

naves longae] war ships built for speed, sometimes called *actuariae*, cp. 34 § 2, in Greek νῆες μακραί, opposed to *onerariae* 'merchantmen'.

tectae] 'decked', also called *constratae* as in III. 101 § 2: such ships were called in Greek κατάφρακτοι, and the deck itself κατάστρωμα, in Latin *constratum*. Open or undecked ships were ἄφρακτοι, *apertae*. In addition to these 17 ships there were the 7 brought by Domitius, cp. 34 § 2.

2 *huc*] = *ad has*.

ipsa] 'by the mere number'.

Albicorum] cp. 34 § 4.

3 *colonis pastoribusque*] 'small farmers and herdsmen', no doubt from his large estates in Italy, for which see 17 § 4, and cp. 34 § 2 *profectum Domitium ad occupandam Massiliam navibus actuariis septem quas... servis libertis colonis suis compleverat:* so too Pompey *servos pastores armat* 24 § 2.

D. Brutus] see 36 § 5.

insulam] probably the isle of Ratonneau just opposite the port.

CHAP. LVII.

1 *antesignanos*] see note on 43 § 3: notice that the *antesignani* are here distinguished from the *centuriones*.

id muneris] cp. *id consilii* B. G. VII. 5.

depoposcerant] 'had earnestly begged'.

2 *manus ferreas*] 'iron claws', used for grappling an enemy's ship. They are said to have been used by the Romans in the first Punic war; Florus I. 18 § 9: cp. Lucan III. 635 *ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inserit uncos | adfixit Lycidam,* where the grappling-iron is said to have caught hold of a man by mistake and dragged him overboard. The *harpagones* were similar instruments, the difference probably being that the *harpago* was merely a long pole with a hook at the end, while the *manus* had several finger-like claws: cp. B. G. VII. 81. KH point out that Brutus had used a similar device in the naval war with the Veneti in 56 B.C., see B. G. III. 14.

tragularum] a kind of javelin; in B. G. I. 26 it is mentioned with the *matara*, apparently a Gallic weapon. It is suggested that it had a barbed point.

4 *pollicitationem*] the singular of this word is rare and does not occur elsewhere in Caesar.

p. 31. *probare operam*] 'to approve their zeal'.

CHAP. LVIII.

1 *confisi*] see notes on 12 § 3, 42 § 3.

eorum] refers of course to *nostros:* it might have been omitted without injuring the sense.

excipiebant] 'parried'; cp. B. G. III. 5 *tantum modo tela missa exciperent;* I. 52 *impetus gladiorum exceperunt.* I see no reason to alter the text.

quoad] 'so long as': cp. B. G. IV. 12 *quoad potuit fortissime restitit*; elsewhere in Caesar *quoad* means 'until'.

detergere] 'sweep off'; the oars in an ancient man-of-war could not be 'shipped' as readily as in a small rowing boat. Florus I. 18 § 8 uses *detorquere remos* apparently in a similar sense.

3 *cum...tum*] for *cum...tum* 'not only...but also' connecting two verbs, cp. B. G. V. 4 *quod cum merito eius a se fieri intellegebat tum magni interesse arbitrabatur*; VII. 23 *cum...est...tum...habet*; Caes. ap. Cic. Att. IX. 6 § 2 *atque ego cum ex ipsa re magnam capio voluptatem, tum meum factum probari abs te triumpho gaudio*: more often it is used with two contrasted substantives as in B. G. VI. 30 *multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest fortuna*: sometimes *etiam* is added to emphasise the *tum*, cp. 62 § 2 *cum altitudine aquae tum etiam rapiditate fluminis.*

nequedum...cognitis] 'inasmuch as they did not yet know even the names of the various tackle'. The clause is suspected by some editors of being a gloss.

usum celeritatis] *celeritatis* is a defining genitive explaining in what the *usus* consists, 'the same handiness in point of speed'. But KH take it rather differently, 'the usefulness which speed gives'.

4 *dum*] 'provided that'; not elsewhere so used in Caesar.

diversi] 'on opposite sides'; one of Caesar's ships grappled two of the Massilian ships, and so the crew of the former had to sustain a conflict in two directions, a hostile crew being on each side of them. It was in this battle that a centurion of the Xth legion named C. Acilius, having lost his right hand while boarding one of the enemies' ships, seized his sword in his left hand and fought gallantly on till the crew surrendered. The story is told by Plutarch Caes. 16, Suet. Caes. 68, Valerius Maximus III. 2. 22.

cum eis, quae sunt captae] 'including those that are captured'. The form of expression is extremely awkward and the text is probably corrupt. From II. 5 § 1 we learn that six ships were captured, hence Paul ingeniously suggests *naves Massiliensium Domitiique sunt captae VI, intereunt IX*. In 57 § 4 the proper name *Domitii* is corrupted in the MSS into *indomiti.*

CHAP. LIX.

1 *nuntiatur*] the date of this sea-fight may be determined with sufficient precision. It has been assumed that the flood at Ilerda began 28 June, cp. 48 § 1; it lasted several days, 50 § 1 *hae perman-*

scrunt aquae dies complures, say from 7 to 10 days, which would bring us to July 6—9. The construction of the boats probably began rather earlier, say 3 July, and must have occupied 3 or 4 days; then came the construction of the bridge which occupied 2 days, 54 § 4 *pontem instituit, biduo perficit.* It was apparently just when the bridge was being constructed that the news of the sea-fight at Marseille reached Caesar, that is, not before 6 July. Communication between the two places being no doubt difficult we may safely allow a week for the messenger's journey, so that we shall not be far out in supposing the battle to have taken place at the end of June.

celeriter] to be taken with *mutatur.*

2 *alias...alias*] 'at one time...at another time'; in 64 § 1 we find *nonnunquam...alias: alias* means 'elsewhere' only in post-Augustan Latin.

longo...spatio] not *longum spatium* which, as accusative of extent, might have been expected with the verb of motion *progredi;* but the writer here emphasises not so much the extent of distance traversed as the point at which the advance ceased, which may be expressed by translating 'staying their advance at no great distance from the camp'.

angustius] 'within narrow limits'.

3 *custodias stationesque*] 'pickets and outposts'.

ex medio itinere] to be taken with *fugiebant:* 'they at once broke off their march, flung away their baggage, and fled'.

CHAP. LX.

p. 32. 1 *Oscenses*] the inhabitants of Osca, now Huesca, a town about 60 miles N.W. of Lerida.

Calagurritani] Calagurris, now perhaps represented by Loarre, a small town on the Sierra de Sobrarbe about 20 miles N.W. of Huesca. There was another and more important Calagurris, now Calahorra, on the Ebro in the province of Logrono.

contributi] 'politically associated': the exact nature of the association is unknown, probably the Calagurritani were vassals or tributaries of the Oscenses.

2 *Tarraconenses*] the people of Tarraco, now Tarragona, on the E. coast.

Iacetani] a tribe occupying the east littoral north of the Ebro.

Ausetani] a tribe dwelling on the southern slopes of the Pyrenees above the Iacetani.

Illurgavonenses] another coast tribe S. of the Ebro.

4 *cohors*] a cohort of the Illurgavonenses serving under Afranius.

signa transfert] a regular phrase of a body of troops transferring themselves from one side in war to another; cp. 1 24 § 3 *signa ad Curium transferunt atque ad eum transeunt*, where, as here, *transire* is also used; 74 § 3 *se statim signa translaturos confirmant*.

magna...rerum] the clause is abrupt and harsh without a verb. Possibly *fit* should be inserted before *magna*, having been absorbed by the last syllable of *transfert*. I am not inclined to omit the whole clause as some editors do.

5 *quinque*] the Oscenses and the Calagurritani count as one.

auxiliis legionum] not the auxiliary troops belonging to the legions, but in a more general sense, 'reinforcements of legions', 'reinforcing legions'.

dicebantur] see 39 § 3.

CHAP. LXI.

1 *idoneum locum*] the authorities are agreed that the spot in question is to be sought at a distance of from 2 to 4 kilomètres above Ilerda; cp. 64 § 8 where the circuit by the ford from Caesar's camp to the river bank opposite Ilerda is reckoned at 6 miles (5½ English miles). The bed of the river here broadens out, and the stream flows for the most part in one main and two or more subsidiary channels, leaving here and there stretches of exposed river bed. As to the method however by which the derivation of the stream was effected, the authorities differ seriously. Göler and Stoffel suppose that Caesar's ditches were dug from the main body of the stream, of equal depth with it, and were carried parallel to the river for some little distance, and then emptied into it again. These ditches, being only 30 ft. wide, could easily be crossed by planks, and the main stream, being thus diminished in volume, would be easily fordable. But Schneider, following Guischard, argues that a stream like the Segre flowing at the rate of 2 feet a second would not be appreciably lowered by such derivation of its waters, and that Caesar's work must have been of a more elaborate character. He supposes that on the right bank, where the level of the adjacent country is below the river bank, Caesar had a large basin dug about 6 ft. in depth, into which he diverted a considerable part (*partem aliquam*) of the river by

several ditches increasing in depth from 3 to 6 ft. A channel was then made to carry off the overflow from the basin into a small tributary of the Noguera Rivagorzana. He calculates that by this means 3456000 cubic feet of water would be drawn off in an hour, which would have the effect of reducing the main stream in a few hours by about 2 feet and so rendering it fordable. His calculations, based on those of Guischard and of Baron d'Arletan, who prepared them for Frederick the Great, are interesting and curious.

2 *perveniunt*] the nearest parallel to this use of *pervenire* in Caesar is B. G. v. 45 *res ad paucitatem defensorum pervenerat*, VII. 6. Generally it is used of a literal arrival.

multum...valebat] an adverbial accusative, cp. μέγα δύνασθαι 'to have power in a great degree', 'to be very powerful': note that *magnum valere* is not good latin.

locis excedere] 'to quit the district'; there is no need to add *eis*.

Celtiberiam] cp. 38 § 3.

3 *suffragabatur*] 'favoured', a sense derived from the literal meaning 'to vote for'. The word is frequent in Cicero, but does not occur elsewhere in Caesar.

generibus] 'classes', that is, of states.

superiore bello] 80—72 B.C.; cp. 29 § 3.

hic] in Celtiberia, where they were intending to go.

suis locis] 'in a place of their own choosing': *suus* in this sense of 'favourable to oneself' is not uncommon; cp. Horace Epod. XI. 30 *ventis iturus non suis*. Kortte qu. by Stoffel II. 347 says *sua loca sunt sibi opportuna et quae vel optaverit, vel elegerit sibi ad pugnam*.

bellum in hiemem ducere] Stoffel has a long excursus, II. 365—384, on *bellum trahere* and *bellum ducere*, arguing that the former means simply 'to prolong the war', while *bellum ducere* farther implies putting off the decisive battle, or carrying on a defensive warfare.

4 *conquirere*] the subject of *conquirere* is indefinite and not expressed, 'order *people* to search'; then with the second verb *adduci* the subject is changed, 'order them (the ships) to be brought': but perhaps *conquiri* should be read. There is a somewhat similar change in B. G. VII. 73 *erat eodem tempore et materiari et frumentari* (deponents) *et tantas munitiones fieri* (passive) *necesse*.

Octogesam] the place is mentioned nowhere else and its exact site is much disputed. Schneider places it at Flix on the right bank of the Ebro nearly due south of Lérida, while Stoffel following the earlier writers confidently identifies it with Mequinenza on the left bank of the

Ebro and on the right of the Segre in the angle formed by their junction. Göler places it on the left of the Ebro, near Almatret, about half way between Mequinenza and Flix. So far as I know, Mr Moberley stands alone in assuming it to have been in the angle formed by the two rivers just *opposite* Mequinenza. On the whole I incline to Stoffel's view rather than Schneider's. Göler appears to have been misled by inferior maps: see Schneider's 'Kritik der Spezialkarten'.

p. 33. *XXX*] the MSS have *XX*, but all editors agree that *XXX* should be read, that being just the distance of Mequinenza from Ilerda, while Flix would be at least as far.

traducunt] by the stone bridge at Ilerda.

castra] an entrenched camp for the two legions that had just crossed the Segre. This probably took place 21 July. In order to ascertain these dates we have to work back from the fixed date of the final capitulation 2 August. The subject will be considered later.

CHAP. LXII.

1 *summo labore*] ablative of manner.

continuato...opere] ablative absolute 'continuing his task'.

in flumine avertendo] we should say 'of diverting the river': *avertere* is similarly used of diverting a stream in B. G. VIII. 40, B. C. III. 49 § 4.

deduxerat] the MSS have *reduxerat*, but *rem deducere* is a constant phrase in Caesar; cp. 4 § 5, 5 § 5, 19 § 3, 70 § 2.

difficulter atque aegre] *aegre* brings out the notion of wearisome vexatious toil more than *difficulter* does: *aegre* is similarly used in reference to the crossing of a river in B. G. I. 13, V. 18.

possent...auderent] cp. B. G. IV. 16 *et posse et audere...Rhenum transire*, below 64 § 3 *posse et audere ea transire flumen*.

2 *exstarent*] cp. B. G. V. 18 *cum capite solo ex aqua exstarent;* Verg. Georg. III. 370 *summis vix cornibus exstant.*

ad transeundum] this *ad* after words denoting impediment is frequent; cp. B. G. VII. 26 and 67 *ad insequendum tardabat;* see above 25 § 9 *ad defendendum impediretur*, III. 75 § 3 *moram ullam ad insequendum intulit.*

cum...tum] see note on 58 § 3.

3 *reperiebatur*] 'was being found': while Caesar was making the river fordable news reached him of the approaching completion of the bridge over the Ebro.

CHAP. LXIII.

2 *relinquebatur*] 'no other course was left for Caesar but to annoy' etc. This use of the word is common in Caesar, cp. 29 § 2.

male haberet] 'injure', 'annoy': *male haberi* is a suggested reading in 81 § 5.

carperet] 'harass' by repeated attacks; the word seems to have been a regular term of warfare: cp. Lucan IV. 155 *iamque agmina summa carpit eques*, where *agmina summa* is the same as Caesar's *novissimum agmen*.

ipsius] 'his own' bridge, opposed to the bridge at Ilerda by which the enemy had crossed.

habebat] 'involved'.

3 *cum*] 'although'.

de tertia vigilia] reckoning the night at this time of the year (towards the end of July, corresponding to middle or end of June) as lasting from 8 to 4, the time here denoted would be 12 to 2 a.m.

morari] 'to hinder (them)', used without an object expressed; but if, with Paul, we transpose *iter* to follow *impedire*, then of course *iter* will be the object of both verbs.

CHAP. LXIV.

1 *superioribus locis*] perhaps the hill of Malpas, close to the hill of Gardeny and to Caesar's camp.

sustinere] I print the passage as it stands in the MSS, but it needs correction. KH's translation, bisweilen hält der Nachtrab Stand, wird aber durchbrochen etc., scarcely represents the latin: the insertion of *vix* or *aegre* before or after *nonnunquam* would restore sense and would closely correspond to B. G. IV. 32 *suos ab hostibus premi atque aegre sustinere animadvertit.* Every careful reader will notice how often Caesar reproduces his own phrases. *sustinere* meaning 'to hold out' is fairly common.

atque interrumpi] 'and even separated' ('broken off') 'from the rest'.

2 *inferri signa*] 'standards are advanced', i.e. for a charge.

universarum] 'in a body', when they were no longer *interruptae.* The whole army probably took part in these charges on the cavalry, not merely all the cohorts of the rearguard.

conversos] Caesar's cavalry.

3 *circulari*] 'gather in groups'.

dolere] 'express their indignation'; *dolor* is often to be translated by 'indignation' rather than 'grief'.

necessario longius duci] in all passages in Caesar where *necessario* occurs with a comparative the two words have to be taken separately; cp. B. G. V. 23 *necessario angustius*, VII. 16 *longius necessario*, above 58 § 2 *cum propius erat necessario ventum* 'whenever they had necessarily come nearer', below 65 § 3 *necessario maturius*: hence translate here *not* 'longer than was necessary' but 'necessarily for a longer time': Caesar's men saw at once that by the escape of the enemy from Ilerda the war was necessarily being unduly prolonged. Nipperdey not understanding this inserts *non* before *necessario*.

p. 34. *certior fieret, ne*] for this final clause after *certior fieri* cp. B. G. III. 5 *milites certiores facit paulisper intermitterent praelium*, VII. 1 *de senatusque consulto certior factus ut omnes...coniurarent*, both qu. by KH. Translate 'that they should assure Caesar that he was not to spare' etc.

posse et audere] cp. note on 62 § 1.

4 *studio et vocibus*] 'the enthusiastic language'.

6 *iumentorum*] a line of horsemen was stretched across the river above and below the ford: above, in order to break the force of the current; below, to catch any soldiers who might be swept away. The cavalry were all gone in pursuit of the enemy; hence Caesar had to mount his men on the packhorses *iumenta*, nevertheless they are spoken of directly after as *equitatus*.

7 *abrepti vi fluminis*] a conjectural restoration of the corrupt *arma in flumine*.

sublevantur] 'lifted up', 'supported': cp. in a somewhat similar sense B. G. I. 48 *tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut iubis equorum sublevati cursum adaequarent*.

8 *milium sex*] see note on 61 § 1.

addito] the MSS have *addito ad vadum*; the last two words were possibly a gloss: if, with most editors, we insert them before *fluminis* it will be another illustration of *ad* after words denoting hindrance; cp. 62 § 2.

qui...exissent] the relative is slightly concessive, hence the subjunctive.

horam diei IX] the Romans divided the day from sunrise to sunset into 12 hours; at this time of year the day would be about 16 hours long, so that the Roman hour would be about 1⅓ hour; hence the

ninth hour would be about 2.45—4 P.M., and the troops must have overtaken the enemy between 2 and 3 P.M.

CHAP. LXV.

1 *locis superioribus*] the exact locality cannot now be determined, but it was probably on the heights about 4 miles from the left bank of the Segre nearly halfway between Ilerda and Octogesa.

constitit] the change from the perfect to the present *instruit* is not unexampled; KH qu. 40 § 2 *reliquit...proficiscitur*, 70 § 3 *confecit... instruit:* but Caesar may have written *consistit*.

2 *refecit*] 'refreshed', by giving them a rest. The MSS have *refecit*, but Caesar very likely wrote *reficit* which would suit *obiciat* better.

3 *necessario maturius*] 'necessarily earlier'; see note on 64 § 3.

enim] this gives the reason not for their halting where they did, but for their desire to advance; it must be taken therefore as referring back to *quam constituerant*. They wanted to get to the mountains to avoid the cavalry and withdraw by the difficult passes to the other side of the Ebro.

montes] M. Maneu and the chain of hills stretching east and west along the left bank of the Ebro.

itinera difficilia] Stoffel supposes that by this is meant the defile of Rivarroja beginning just below the village of Mayals and leading straight down to the Ebro; it is afterwards spoken of as *angustiae* 66 § 2, 67 § 1. He thinks that Afranius, who had originally intended to withdraw to Octogesa by skirting M. Maneu and following the ridge of the Sierra de Campells, now, finding himself hard pressed by Caesar, abandoned this intention and proposed to seek refuge in this narrow gorge of Rivarroja where it would be impossible for Caesar safely to follow him.

excipiebant] 'took up' here in the sense of 'came next', 'succeeded'; cp. 66 § 4 *inde excipere loca aspera et montuosa*.

5 *quod...efficiendum*] 'which in fact they ought to have attempted and carried out by every means in their power'.

totius diei] perhaps 25 July.

CHAP. LXVI.

1 *aquandi*] all this part of the country is without springs and extremely dry: the present inhabitants make use of reservoirs (Stoffel).

p. 35. 2 *signum*] by blowing a trumpet.

vasa...conclamari] the correct singular *vasum* is only found in early

latin and was supplanted by *vas*. The word denotes all the various apparatus of a camp; tents, baggage, etc. According to Polybius VI. 40, when a camp was broken up three signals were given; at the first the packing up began; at the second, the baggage ready packed was placed on the waggons or beasts, and at the third the army began to move. The word *conclamari* must refer to the human voice and not to the sound of an instrument, cp. III. 105 § 3 *tantus exercitus clamor et signorum sonus:* no doubt when the trumpet sounded at the general's headquarters the necessary orders were given in a loud voice by the officers all over the camp to their men, and it is to this shouting that the word applies. For the whole expression cp. III. 37 § 4 *ne conclamatis quidem vasis*, 38 § 1 *vasisque militari more conclamatis:* often we find *vasa colligere* used of moving camp, as in Liv. XXI. 47. Probably the order was given in the words *vasa colligite.*

exaudito clamore] 'having caught the sound of the shouting': for this, the usual meaning of *exaudire*, cp. B. G. VI. 39 with my note.

aut] 'or else': *aut ne* marks the alternative more clearly than *neve.*

3 *postero die*] presumably 26 July.

hoc idem] a similar reconnaissance is made by Caesar.

L. Decidius Saxa] tribune B.C. 43, when he left the city to join Antony. He took a prominent part subsequently in the civil war, and while serving as Antony's legate in Syria in 40 was defeated and slain by an irruption of the Parthians, who were assisted (*qui furor scelerum!* as Florus says II. 18 § 4) by the Roman Labienus. According to another account he committed suicide. Cicero often speaks of him with abhorrence in the Philippics, cp. Phil. XI. 12 *accedit Saxa nescio quis, quem nobis Caesar ex ultima Celtiberia tribunum plebis dedit, castrorum antea metator, nunc, ut sperat, urbis.*

4 *quinque...campestris*] 'the next intervening 5 miles afforded a march over easy ground'. The word *campestris* must not be too strictly interpreted; there was no level plain in the neighbourhood, but the ground might be called *campestris* as opposed to the rugged mountainous district lying 5 miles south.

excipere] see note on 65 § 3.

qui] we should expect *uter* 'whichever of the two', as in 70 § 1 *utri prius angustias montesque occuparent:* cp. B. G. V. 44 *hi...controversias habebant, quinam anteferretur.*

nihil...negotii] 'no trouble', 'an easy task': 'it would be an easy task for the one who should first occupy these defiles to keep the enemy at bay'.

CHAP. LXVII.

1 *consilio*] 'a council of war', cp. II. 30 § 1 *quibus de causis consilio convocato.* A council of this kind usually consisted of the *legati*, the *tribuni militum* and the *centuriones.*

tempus profectionis quaeritur] we should say 'they discuss the proper time for departure': lit. 'they look for', 'enquire about': cp. 74 § 2, II. 14 § 1 *at hostes sine fide tempus atque occasionem fraudis ac doli quaerunt;* B. G. VII. 37 *ratio perficiendi quaeritur;* VIII. 47 *consilia belli quaerentibus.*

censebant, ut] Caesar has *censere* with *ut* 5 times, and with gerundial construction 9 times.

2 *pridie noctu*] 'the day before at night', i.e. 'the previous night': see below *prima luce postridie* 'early the next morning'.

quod...esset] 'the fact that the cry had been raised'; there is no need for Caesar to specify what the cry was.

3 *timori...consulere*] 'pay regard to their fears rather than the obligation of their oath': soldiers took an oath of allegiance *sacramentum* to their commander. In a civil war, when they were fighting against their fellow citizens, they would not feel this oath so binding on their consciences as if they were fighting against enemies of the republic.

4 *at lucem*] I print this difficult sentence as it stands in the MSS with the trifling change of *ad* to *at.* But the words *omnium oculis* give no satisfactory sense, and Paul's insertion of *sub* before *oculis* does not help us much. Possibly some such words as *intentis ad pugnam* have fallen out before *omnium oculis*, the repeated *pu* of *pudorem* and *pugnam* having caused the copyist's eye to stray: cp. B. G. III. 26 *omnium oculis mentibusque ad pugnam intentis.* Translate 'but the daylight of itself brings with it a considerable sense of honour, when the battle is waged before the eyes of all; much too is afforded by the presence of the military tribunes and the centurions'.

quibus rebus] loosely referring to the conditions mentioned in the previous sentence—the public gaze and the presence of the officers.

quibus...soleant] notice that Caesar might well have written *milites* (accusative) and *solere*, this being a relative clause in oratio obliqua. Possibly however he uses *quibus rebus* in a slightly causal sense, equivalent to *cum eis rebus*, and not in the merely connective sense of *et eis rebus.* On such sentences see Reid on Cic. Acad. I. 41; cp. B. G. VII. 39 *quod futurum provideat.*

5 *omni ratione*] 'by all means', 'if they possibly could'; cp. 65 § 5 *omni ratione efficiendum.*

etsi...detrimento] for *etsi* with ablative absolute instead of a finite verb cp. III. 95 § 1 *etsi magno aestu...tamen...paruerunt*, the only other example in Caesar.

summa exercitus salva] 'the army as a whole uninjured'; for the noun *summa* cp. 21 § 6 *summa rerum*, 82 § 3 *ad summam victoriae* (?). Translate 'though they might sustain some loss, yet they could attain the position they sought without injury to the army as a whole'; and compare the very similar sentence in B. G. VI. 34 *non in summa exercitus tuenda...sed in singulis militibus conservandis.*

6 *postridie*] this would apparently be 27 July.

CHAP. LXVIII.

1 *albente caelo*] the phrase was first used by the historian Sisenna who died B.C. 57; Quintilian VIII. 3. 35. It only occurs here in Caesar, but is twice used by the author of the B. Af. 11 and 80.

magno circuitu] to effect his object of cutting off the enemy from the Ebro Caesar had recourse to a stratagem. He evacuated his camp early in the morning, quitting it by the gate on the right hand to one looking north, and proceeded down the slope of the hill in the direction of Ilerda; then he suddenly turned to the right and marched under cover of the hills over extremely rugged ground in a southerly direction. By-and-bye the Afranians to their dismay beheld him on some rising ground already slightly in advance of their own position. Then began the race towards the Ebro described in 70.

nullo certo itinere] 'by no clearly marked route'.

p. 36. *castris hostium oppositis*] a kind of ablative absolute merging into an instrumental ablative; 'were blocked by the interposition of the enemy's camp': cp. B. G. VIII. 16 *discessum hostium animadvertere non poterat incendiis oppositis.*

2 *ipsi*] 'he himself', used to emphasise the strong contrast between his position and theirs.

per manus] 'from hand to hand': cp. B. G. VII. 25 *per manus traditas glebas*, VIII. 15 *per manus inter se traditos.* The emperor Gaius, in his disgraceful flight across the Rhine, *impatiens morae per manus ac super capita hominum translatus est;* being stopped by the crowd on the bridge he had himself handed over the heads of the people. Suetonius, Gaius 51.

sublevati] 'supported', cp. 64 § 7.

3 *intercludere*] 'cut off'.

potuissent] 'should prove able'.

Chap. LXIX.

1 *prosequebantur*] 'pursued our men with insulting cries': *prosequi aliquem aliqua re* is to accompany or escort a person with something; generally it is used in a more favourable sense than here, cp. B. G. II. 5 *Caesar Remos cohortatus liberaliterque oratione prosecutus.*

necessarii...reverti] the accusative and infinitive clause represents the substance of their cries.

videbatur] they appeared at first to be going towards Ilerda, but afterwards wheeled round and marched southward.

2 *consilium...ferebant*] 'extolled their own policy': cp. III. 87 § 1 *cum...Pompei consilium summis laudibus efferret.* Very likely *efferebant* should be read here.

quod...videbant] 'the fact that they saw'; this is the subject of *adiuvabat.*

ad iter profectos] 'starting for their journey': Paul alters *ad iter* to *ab Ilerda*, forgetting that *viderant* would then be almost certainly required instead of *videbant.*

3 *retorqueri*] it is not quite clear how much of Caesar's march was in view of the Afranians; if it be supposed that the whole of it from the moment of leaving the camp was executed in their sight, the last part of my note on *magno circuitu* 68 § 1 must be modified accordingly. I think it probable however that Caesar's column when it first wheeled to the right was under cover of the hills and so out of sight of the enemy. In that case the words *retorqueri ad dextram* will refer not to the initial stage of the southward movement, but to the subsequent gradual reappearance of the column moving towards the right over the rising ground.

primos] the vanguard.

superare regionem castrorum] 'passing by (outflanking) the site of their own camp'.

fugiens laboris] this genitive after *fugiens* is not quoted from any other classical author. It may be compared with such expressions as Hor. Od. II. 9. 18 *desine mollium tandem querelarum*, Roby § 1338; see also for other somewhat similar genitives Roby §§ 1318, 1320.

4 *conclamatur ad arma*] "the shout of 'to arms' is raised": cp. Hor.

Od. I. 35. 14 *neu populus frequens | ad arma cessantes, ad arma | concitet imperiumque frangat.*

CHAP. LXX.

2 *deducta*] 'matters had however come to such a pass with the Afranians': for *res deducta* see 62 § 1.

ipsi] the two contrasted clauses beginning respectively with *ipsi* and *impedimenta* would be marked in Greek by *μὲν* and *δέ*: tr. 'while they themselves would avoid danger, they would be unable to rescue the baggage' etc.

quibus interclusis] probably a dative after *auxilium ferri* but possibly ablative absolute.

3 *ex*] 'after crossing', 'immediately after leaving'; cp. 22 § 4 *ex praetura* 'immediately after his praetorship'.

planitiem] a small plain called Enviure close to the village of Mayals.

p. 37. 4 *cetratorum*] see note on 39 § 1.

montem] M. Stoffel remarks that there is not a single hill in the whole country to which such an expression as that of Caesar's *qui erat in conspectu omnium excelsissimus* can be applied except to M. Maneu. Though not very lofty, its height being about 1380 ft., it dominates the whole prospect and is visible from Ilerda. Afranius, being now intercepted by Caesar and so prevented from retreating by the gorge of Rivarroja, changes his plans and endeavours to withdraw on Octogesa by way of M. Maneu and the Sierra de Campells.

iugis] 'by way of the hills', cp. B. G. VII. 45 *collibus circumvehi* and directly after *legionem unam eodem iugo mittit:* Roby § 1176.

5 *obliquo itinere*] their route is called 'oblique' because they turned off sharply to the left and almost at right angles to the line of battle.

minimam partem temporis] 'for ever so short a time': cp. B. G. V. 7 *magnam partem omnis temporis.*

CHAP. LXXI.

1 *id*] *id* anticipates the following clause *tanto...posse.*

sustinere] 'hold out'; cp. 64 § 1.

cum...confligeretur] 'since the conflict was being fought': it is true that Afranius was posted on an eminence, cp. 70 § 4 *collem quendam nactus* and below § 3 *de colle non decederet*, but the general character of

the immediately surrounding country was level, and the hill was apparently a small and isolated one. Round it swarmed Caesar's cavalry.

ex omnibus partibus] 'from all quarters': two MSS omit *ex*, but it is doubtful whether *omnibus partibus* could here be used in the sense of 'on all accounts'; cp. Cic. Fin. V. 93 *vitam omnibus partibus plus habere semper boni quam mali.*

2 *legati*] these three classes of officers, legates, centurions and military tribunes, formed the usual council of war.

3 *multis rebus*] 'in many ways'.

signa misisse] 'had exhibited signs'; cp. Verg. Georg. I. 229 *haud obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes;* Lucr. I. 874 *fruges...mittere signum sanguinis:* I hardly understand why Madvig Adv. II. 265 objects to *misisse* here and wants to read *dedisse* or *iam dedisse.*

decederent] 'were not coming down', notice change of tense from *subvenisset.*

signa servarent] owing to the narrow space the several legions were crowded together in confusion instead of being drawn up in line under their own colours.

4 *iniquitatem loci*] this phrase, which is frequent in Caesar, means 'inequality of site' and is used where, of two opposing forces, one occupies a position of advantage, in respect of elevation, over the other.

aliquo loco] I see no reason for altering *aliquo* to *aequo* as Madvig does Adv. II. 265, with the further change of *tamen* to *iam.* The implied argument of the soldiers is 'granted that it may not be wise to fight while Afranius occupies the hill, yet he must come down soon, and then we shall certainly find *some* place to fight in'.

CHAP. LXXII.

1 *eam spem*] *eam* anticipates the following accusative and infinitive clause *se...posse;* cp. *id* 71 § 1.

2 *etiam*] to be taken with *secundo*, 'even if the battle were favourable'.

amitteret] 'why should he lose?' Caesar's actual words were *cur... amittam?*

p. 38. 3 *misericordia civium*] objective genitive, 'compassion for his fellow citizens'.

4 *plerisque*] evidently referring to the officers, the *legati*, *tribuni* and

centuriones who had come to urge Caesar to fight, 71 § 2. Notice that latin has no word of general signification quite corresponding to our 'officer', though *dux* sometimes approaches it, cp. 73 § 1 *duces adversariorum.*

non probabatur] 'did not commend itself to': *plerisque* is dative, the construction being *probare aliquid alicui.* But Caesar might have written *a plerisque* as 74 § 7 *consiliumque eius a cunctis probabatur;* B. G. III. 24 *hoc consilio probato ab ducibus;* and see quotation in note on 58 § 3.

degreditur] Caesar presumably occupied some slightly rising ground not far from Afranius. But perhaps *digreditur* 'moves away from' should be read.

5 *praesidiis...dispositis*] this ablative expresses the method by which all the routes were blocked, and is therefore subordinate to the other ablative absolute *omni intercluso itinere.*

CHAP. LXXIII.

1 *postero die*] apparently 28 July.

spem] the slight harshness of the phrase *fluminis Hiberi spem* 'hope of (about) the river', i.e. 'hope of reaching the river', is softened by the proximity of the more natural genitive *rei frumentariae* 'hope of provisions'.

consultabant] Caesar has *consultare* three times and only with *de*, cp. B. G. V. 53, VII. 77: but *consulere* only once with *de*, B. G. I. 53 *de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat.*

2 *si reverti vellent*] 'in case they should choose': these loosely attached hypothetical clauses are not uncommon in Caesar, especially with *posse*, but I find no instance quite like the present where the main clause does not express some action on the part of the subject of the sentence: e.g. it would have been quite regular if Caesar had written *unum ostendit iter* etc. 'he points out to them one route, in case they wished' etc. Something similar is 84 § 2 *palam si colloqui vellent, concessum est.*

Tarraconem] it is not clear whether they proposed to reach Tarragona by way of Granadella and Réus, crossing the higher part of the Sierra de la Llena, or by returning some little distance on the way to Lerida and then striking the present route from Lerida to Tarragona by way of Borjas and Monblanch; probably the former.

consiliantibus] *consiliari* is only used by Caesar here and in 19 § 2, and is rare in other authors.

3 *cohortium alariarum*] auxiliary cohorts, the auxiliaries of the allies being always stationed on the wings of the army, and called *ala dextra* and *sinistra*: cp. 83 § 1, II. 18 § 1, B. G. I. 51.

aquam] this water supply was evidently some way off, but we do not know its exact position. Stoffel says there is now no water in the district, except in reservoirs. A stream marked in Schneider's map and called Llobregós en Pino, if it really exists or did exist, would answer the requirements of the passage, being about 5 miles N.E. of Mayals.

CHAP. LXXIV.

1 *notum*] practically a substantive, 'acquaintance'; so below § 6.

municipem] 'fellow-townsman', so *civis* often means 'fellow-citizen': the compounds *concivis communiceps* were very little used, and do not occur in classical authors.

conquirit] 'enquires after', very much like our colloquial phrase 'looks up'.

2 *pridie*] cp. 72.

beneficio] 'through their kindness', 'thanks to them'; cp. B. G. I. 53 *sortium beneficio se esse incolumem*, B. C. II. 32 § 8, III. 18 § 4.

quaerunt] 'they enquire about', cp. B. G. I. 18 *quaerit ex solo ea quae in conventu dixerat;* see note on 67 § 1; two other instances of *quaerere* with accusative, B. G. I. 18 *eadem quaerit* and B. C. II. 39 § 3 *reliqua quaerere*, are not necessarily similar, these being possibly cognate accusatives. Here Madvig reads with great probability *deinde de imperatoris fide quaerunt.*

illi] 'to him'.

contulerint] *arma conferre cum aliquo* 'to engage in conflict with', cp. Livy XXI. 1 *nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma.* Elsewhere in Caesar *arma conferre* means to collect arms, as in B. G. VII. 12 *arma conferri, equos produci, obsides dari iubet.*

3 *fidem...petunt*] 'exact a solemn promise'.

p. 39. *confirmatis*] 'these conditions having been settled': the ablative absolute may possibly be equivalent to a conditional sentence 'if these conditions are settled', as Moberley takes it. Notice the near repetition of *confirmare,* which seems a mark of hasty writing.

signa translaturos] cp. 24 § 3, 60 § 4.

primorum ordinum] see note on 46 § 4.

4 *invitandi*] 'of entertaining them'.

viderentur] imperfect after historic presents.

5 *evocaverant*] 'had summoned' to join the army. The Spanish chieftains who were detained as hostages were probably not expected to bear arms in the Roman service.

aditum commendationis] 'an opportunity of being commended to the notice of Caesar': *aditus* is properly 'a way of approach', *commendationis* is a defining genitive showing the nature of the *aditus;* the preposition *ad* follows in sense after the word *aditus* 'approach to', and not after *commendationis:* cp. B. G. V. 41 *qui aliquem sermonis aditum causamque amicitiae cum Cicerone habebant.*

6 *filius*] he was afterwards handed over to Caesar as a hostage, 84 § 2.

Sulpicium] P. Sulpicius Rufus had been one of Caesar's legates in Gaul, B. G. IV. 22, VII. 90. He held the office of praetor in 48 and was afterwards governor of Illyricum, cp. Cic. Fam. XIII. 77.

7 *laetitia*] elsewhere Caesar has the genitive after *plenus:* Cicero has both cases. The difference, such as it is, may be shown by the English phrases 'full of' and 'filled with'.

videbantur] 'were seen': notice that 'to seem' is often an inadequate rendering of *videri.*

consilium] 'policy'.

CHAP. LXXV.

1 *Afranio*] dative after *nuntiatis,* then the nominative *Afranius* must be understood with *discedit.* But perhaps *Afranio* was only a MS error for *Afranius.*

sic paratus] 'resolved'; sometimes *animo* is added as in B. G. VII. 19 (twice); cp. B. C. III. 86, § 5, 95 § 1.

2 *praetoria cohorte*] this term was applied to a body-guard of picked men attending on the general in command, cp. B. G. I. 40, 42.

beneficiariis] these were soldiers who were relieved of the ordinary routine of duty and attached to the person of the commander; cp. Vegetius II. 7 *beneficiarii ab eo appellati quod promoventur beneficio tribunorum.* They are mentioned again III. 88 § 4. In this case they were horsemen from the Spanish contingent of cavalry.

3 *sinistras sagis involvunt*] 'wrap their left hands in their cloaks': the soldiers were strolling about between the two camps in fancied security

and had left their shields behind. The *sagum* was a coarse woollen cloak worn by the common soldiers and inferior officers, and even by citizens in Italy in time of war; it was reckoned the distinctive garb of war as the *toga* was that of peace; cp. the phrases *saga sumere, ad saga ire* etc.

propinquitate confisi] cp. note on 12 § 3.

CHAP. LXXVI.

1 *flens*] for another instance of Roman soldiers weeping see B. G. V. 33. 'When we read of soldiers weeping it should be remembered that the southern nations of Europe are naturally more emotional in character than the northern, and that the tendency of modern education and habits of thought is to check all outward expression of strong feeling, whether in the way of joy or grief'.

neu...neu] Caesar might have written *ne* for the first *neu* as in II. 28 § 2 *obsecrat...ne...deponerent neu...ferrent.*

p. 40. 2 *praetorium* 'the general's quarters': in marking out a Roman camp a certain space, said to have been 200 feet square, was always apportioned to the general in command.

separatim a reliquis] cp. Cic. Fam. II. 16 § 5 *nihil accidet ei separatim a reliquis civibus.*

3 *princeps*] 'first of all'. With the whole of this passage cp. III. 13 §§ 3, 4, as it affords a good instance of the way in which Caesar repeats his own phrases: *perterrito etiam tum exercitu princeps Labienus procedit iuratque se eum non deserturum eundemque casum subiturum quemcunque ei fortuna tribuisset. hoc idem reliqui iurant legati; tribuni militum centurionesque sequuntur, atque idem omnis exercitus iurat.*

in haec verba iurat] 'takes the oath in these terms', cp. Horace Ep. I. 1. 14 *nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri* 'at the dictation of a master'.

ius iurandum adigit] the full phrase is *adigere aliquem ad ius iurandum*, cp. Sallust Cat. 22; then the *ad* was omitted as in the phrase *adigere aliquem arbitrum* Cic. Off. III. 66.

4 *producatur*] supply mentally *ab eo;* that he should be produced by the man (*ab eo*) in whose company (*penes quem*) he has been.

5 *nova religio iuris iurandi*] 'the fresh ceremony of the oath': but possibly Caesar means by *nova* 'novel', 'unprecedented', though, as far as we can tell, there was nothing unusual in demanding a fresh oath of

allegiance from the troops in a moment of supreme peril; cp. Livy XXII. 53, referred to by Moberley.

CHAP. LXXVII.

2 *magno in honore*] cp. III. 47 § 7 *pecus...magno in honore habebant;* sometimes the *in* is omitted, cp. B. G. V. 54 *quos praecipuo semper honore Caesar habuit.*

priores ordines] 'their former posts' or 'centuries', *ordo* being often equivalent to *centuria.*

equites...honorem] beware of confusing the *equites Romani* with the ordinary cavalry serving in the Roman armies; the latter at this period was not composed of Roman citizens at all, but was drawn from the allies. The *equites* here mentioned are Roman knights, who occasionally joined the army and served as *tribuni militum* and *praefecti;* hence Caesar says that he restored these knights *ad tribunicium honorem*, i.e. to the posts of *tribuni militum* which they had previously held in Pompey's army. So too in B. G. III. 7 the prefects and military tribunes spoken of were evidently mounted officers, and see Caesar's joke in B. G. I. 42: cp. Madvig, Kleine Philologische Schriften, p. 501 note.

CHAP. LXXVIII.

1 *premebantur*] 'were hard pressed', 'hard put to it', 'met with great difficulties in their foraging'; for the construction cp. B. G. V. 28 *re frumentaria non premi.* There is no need to read *prohibebantur.*

copiam...non nullam] 'a certain quantity', that is, a fairly large amount; so *non nulli homines* means 'several men', not 'scarcely any men'. Hence Stoffel is wrong in saying 'ils n'en avaient plus qu'une petite quantité'.

XXII] I agree with the majority of commentators in thinking this number far too large; the Afranians had only left Ilerda 4 or 5 days before, and if they had had provisions for 17 days remaining, there would have been plenty to spare for the *cetrati* and *auxiliares.* But instead of altering it to *VIII* with Göler or *VII* with Dinter, I should prefer *XII* as accounting better for the corruption. We know from Cic. Tusc. II. 37 that Roman soldiers often carried *plus quam dimidiati mensis cibaria,* but it is extremely unlikely that Afranius when intending to make a rapid march across difficult country from

Ilerda to Octogesa would make his men carry provision for more than 10 or 12 days at the outside.

2 *facultates*] 'means', 'opportunities'; the word is of constant use in Caesar and does not by any means necessarily imply 'pecuniary resources' as Moberley translates it.

insueta ad] the construction is found in Livy, but Caesar elsewhere has the genitive after *insuetus*. The auxiliaries did not undergo the severe training of the Roman legionaries and lacked their extraordinary powers of endurance.

3 *explicitius*] 'the simpler', 'the least complicated', from *explicare* 'to unravel', a word frequently found with *consilium* as below *se reliquum consilium explicaturos*, III. 78 § 3 etc., and cp. III. 75 § 2 *his explicitis rebus*.

se reliquum consilium explicaturos] a literal rendering of this is impossible; we might represent the meaning fairly by translating 'that they would evolve at leisure (or 'in detail') the rest of their plans'. Moberley's translation 'to form plans for the future' is inadequate.

4 *Tarraco*] a distance of about 40 or 50 miles.

recipere] *rem* is the subject, *casus* the object, of *recipere*: 'their adventure ('fortune', 'undertaking') might meet with various accidents', or 'various accidents might befall their adventure': cp. III. 51 § 5 *quae res tamen fortasse aliquem reciperet casum*.

proficiscuntur] probably in the early morning of 29 July: see note on 80 § 3.

p. 41. 5 *carperet*] cp. 63 § 2, B. Afr. 75 § 4.

nullum...proeliarentur] 'not a moment passed without the rear-guard fighting with the cavalry'.

CHAP. LXXIX.

1 *pluresque*] 'and several of them', that is of the light-armed cohorts.

subsistebant] 'halted', 'lingered behind', in order to protect the main body from the attacks of the cavalry. The sense would no doubt be rendered easier by reading *equitesque* for *pluresque* and *sustinebant* for *subsistebant* 'kept the cavalry in check'.

3 *cum*] 'whenever'; with *cum* in this sense the pluperfect indicative is more common than the imperfect, Roby § 1717.

suberat] 'lay before them'.

neque ei...poterant] = *et ei...non poterant*.

morantibus] if, as seems probable, the army was following a defined track across difficult country, the line would extend to some distance, and the rearguard might naturally be called *morantes* as compared with the vanguard. Hence there is no need to alter this to *laborantibus*.

equites vero] 'while the cavalry'; this clause, as well as the two preceding, depends on *cum*: the word *vero*, like *denique*, added to the last of a succession of clauses, denotes the climax.

in aversos] 'against them when their backs were turned'.

4 *relinquebatur, ut*] 'the only course left was that' etc.; cp. 29 § 2, 63 § 2.

cum...esset] the subjunctive is used 'of actions, events, etc. recounted not as mere marks of time, but as essential parts of the historical narrative, in imperfect and pluperfect tenses' Roby § 1720. The mood might perhaps be explained by the fact that this clause is inserted in another subjunctive clause *ut...iuberent*, and is therefore what Dr Kennedy called a 'suboblique' clause, Kenn. L. G. §§ 190—193.

incitati cursu] cp. III. 46 § 5 *incitati cursu praecipites Pompeianos egerunt*, 93 § 5 *incitati fuga;* we also find *incitato cursu* B. G. II. 26.

5 *tantum...aberant*] 'they were so far from being aided by their cavalry'; notice that *tantum abesse ab* is here not used of actual distance: KH cp. B. G. I. 36 *longe eis fraternum nomen populi Romani afuturum*.

ultro] the nearest English equivalent to this very expressive word is 'actually': not only did the cavalry not protect the legions, but the legions had *actually* to protect the cavalry.

quin] the use of *quin* rather than *ne* shows that *licebat* is used of *possibility* rather than of *permission:* 'it was not possible for any one of them to quit the line of march without being caught by Caesar's horsemen': if Caesar had meant 'no one of them *was allowed* to quit' etc., he would have added *ne...exciperetur* 'lest he should be caught'.

CHAP. LXXX.

1 *pugnatur*] this is a perfectly general statement: 'when a battle is being fought in this way, troops advance slowly' etc. It is shown that the general statement applies to this particular occasion.

ut tum accidit] 'and so it happened on this occasion': cp. B. G. VII. 3 *nam ubicumque maior atque illustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant; hunc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut tum accidit.*

2 *peragitati*] this word is not quoted from any other classical author; possibly it is a corruption for *exagitati*.

montem excelsum] Stoffel says this is Sierra Grosa, which is at the required distance of 4 miles from the supposed site of the last encampment, and is a conspicuous hill though hardly deserving to be called a 'lofty mountain.'

una fronte contra hostem] 'on one side only facing the enemy': instead of making the usual square entrenchment, they only constructed one line of earthworks facing the enemy.

neque...deponunt] 'without however unloading the packhorses': *neque* here, as often, is put for *neque tamen*.

3 *tabernacula*] the Roman tents were made of skins, hence such expressions as *sub pellibus hiemare* III. 13 § 5.

hora circiter sexta] it is absurd to suppose, as Stoffel apparently does, that all the events narrated from 73 § 1 to 80 § 3 happened in the first six hours of one day, that is, before noon of 29 July. I have no doubt that the *eiusdem diei* of the present passage means 30 July, and that the night of 29 July was spent by the Afranians in the anxious deliberations implied in Caesar's narrative in 78. Thus the recital of the events of 30 July naturally begins with the words *hoc probato consilio ex castris proficiscuntur* in 78 § 4. Notice too the word *cotidie* in 78 § 2, which I take to be a loose and somewhat exaggerated expression for the 60 or 70 hours from the discomfiture of the Afranians on the 27th (cp. 71) to the morning of the 30th.

spem...equitum] 'hoping that the pursuit would be delayed by the departure of our cavalry'.

4 *refectis legionibus*] 'having rested his legions'.

p. 42. *hora decima*] about 4 p.m.

cotidianum itineris officium] 'their usual employment during the march'; their 'usual (or 'daily') duty' at this time was to harass the retreating foe.

5 *paene terga convertant*] 'are almost put to flight': the subject of *convertant* is of course the Afranians.

non nulli] 'several' (see note on 78 § 1) though denoting a less number than *complures*.

CHAP. LXXXI.

1 *natura iniquo*] 'unfavourable by nature', 'naturally unfavourable': *natura* is an adverbial ablative like *more*, *consuetudine*, *iure* etc. The

locality in question is placed by Stoffel about 3 kilomètres to the east of Aitona a village on the Segre about 12 miles below Ilerda.

2 *amplius non lacessit*] for *amplius* with a negative in sense of 'no longer' cp. III. 10 § 3 *neque amplius fortunam periclitari;* B. G. V. 55 *non esse amplius fortunam temptaturos.*

eo die] 29 July. Caesar occupying a fresh position on the evening of this day gives orders that no tents shall be erected.

3 *vitio*] 'fault', 'faulty position'.

tota nocte] the ablative of continuation of time may be defended by B. G. I. 26 *eaque tota nocte*, but I think it probable that both here and there the accusative should be read: cp. also 46 § 1 *cum esset pugnatum continenter horis quinque*, 85 § 8 *provincias absens tot annis obtineat.*

proferunt] 'push forward'. It seems clear that this denotes a retrograde movement nearer to Caesar's camp, cp. 82 § 4. The southward movement also explains how it was that the farther they went the greater distance they were from a supply of water.

castra castrisque convertunt] 'exchange one camp for another'; that is by pushing forward their entrenchments they take up a fresh position just a little in front of the old one.

postero die] 30 July.

opere] 'in their work'.

remedia dabantur] 'remedies were provided for their present ill only by procuring fresh ills'.

4 *proximo die*] 31 July.

5 *male haberi*] 'to be harassed', cp. 63 § 2.

descensuros] 'to which he thought they would necessarily have recourse': *descendere* in this sense conveys the idea of adopting a course of action *as a last resort.* For *quo* with *descendere* cp. 5 § 3 *quo nisi paene in ipso urbis incendio...nunquam ante descensum est.*

6 *omnia*] an exaggeration, see 84 § 1.

CHAP. LXXXII.

1 *biduum*] apparently 30 and 31 July, then *tertio die* will be 1 August.

magna...processerat] 'Caesar's task had already made considerable progress': that is, he had finished a large part of his lines of circumvallation.

IX] about 3 p.m.

p. 43. 2 *contra...afferebat*] 'for to be seen to have shunned a battle against the general sentiment of the troops and his credit in the eyes

of the world ('in the eyes of all') would prove highly detrimental' (lit. 'brought with it great detriment').

opinionem] it is difficult to fix the precise meaning of this word: it means sometimes 'opinion', 'thought', 'feeling', sometimes 'expectation', sometimes 'estimation', 'reputation'. KH take it here in the last named sense 'the good opinion which the soldiers had of Caesar', in which case there would be little difference between it and *fama*, since *fama omnium* seems to mean the repute in which all held Caesar. The two words are thus united in III. 36 § 1 *nuntiatum est adesse Scipionem magna opinione et fama omnium*, 55 § 2 *Pompeius autem ut famam opinionemque hominum teneret.*

3 *eisdem causis*] 'by the same reasons', to be taken with *movebatur.* I follow Meusel and Paul in omitting *de* after *eisdem.* The reasons, with which Caesar says his readers are acquainted (*quae sunt cognitae*), are those given in 72, viz., the desire to avoid unnecessary bloodshed etc.; cp. 81 § 2 *sed eisdem de causis Caesar, quae supra sunt demonstratae, proelio amplius non lacessit.*

coniectis adversariis] equivalent to a conditional clause, *si conicerentur adversarii.*

ad summam victoriae] 'to consummate his victory', cp. B. G. VII. 21 *paene in eo, si id oppidum retinuissent, summam victoriae constare intellegebant.*

4 *hinc*] = *ex hoc* (*spatio*) 'out of this space'.

duas partes] 'two-thirds'.

5 *celerem...ex fuga receptum*] 'a speedy retreat in (from) their flight': for *ex fuga* cp. B. G. IV. 27 *se ex fuga receperunt*, VI. 35 *receptos ex fuga*, II. 12 *prius quam se hostes ex terrore ac fuga reciperent.*

signa inferentibus] this is a constant phrase of troops advancing to battle.

CHAP. LXXXIII.

1 *duplex*] possibly each line consisted of 25 cohorts, as they are arranged in the elaborate plan given by Stoffel in his atlas.

in subsidiis] 'in reserve'; cp. B. Al. 39 *reliquis cohortibus in subsidiis collocatis.* Afranius' *acies* was thus virtually *triplex*, only his third line was composed of auxiliaries in place of legionaries.

alariae cohortes] see note on 73 § 3.

2 *sed*] '*sed* refers to the difference of his arrangement from that of Afranius, which was also an *acies triplex* but in a different way' KH.

quaternae cohortes ex V legionibus] 'four cohorts from each of the five

legions': thus the 10 cohorts of each legion were distributed over the three lines, 4 in the first, 3 in the second, and 3 in the third.

suae cuiusque legionis] probably *cuiusque* does not agree with *legionis*, but is the genitive after it, thus *sua cuiusque legio* means 'the particular legion of each (cohort)'. KH however take *cuiusque* to be in agreement with *suae legionis*.

continebantur] 'were included in'. The expression is so vague that it is impossible to say exactly how they were placed. I should be inclined to take *media acies* as meaning the second of the three lines, and to suppose that the slingers etc. occupied the intervals between the cohorts in that line, and so I think Göler understands it, but Stoffel takes *media acies* to mean the centre of the whole force (not of course the *exact* centre, as there was an uneven number of legions) and considers the auxiliaries to have formed a body equal in depth to the three lines of the legions.

3 *tenere*] 'hold to', almost in the sense of 'gain': cp. III. 42 § 1 *ubi propositum tenere non potuit, secundo usus consilio*, 65 § 4 *commutata ratione belli quoniam propositum non tenuerat*.

ne...committeret] 'not to fight unless compelled'.

opera] the works of investment.

tamen] the force of *tamen*, which is not at first obvious, may be brought out by a paraphrase: though each seemed at first to gain his object, *yet* no real advance was made, the business is only postponed. Most editors tacitly acquiesce in Nipperdey's *tum* for *tamen*.

4 *postero die*] 2 Aug., which we know from other sources (see note on 41 § 1) to have been the day of the final capitulation.

vadum] it will be remembered that they were only two or three miles from the river.

possent] imperfect after historic present.

5 *levis armaturae*] genitive of description.

traicit] for the double accusative with this verb cp. 55 § 1.

CHAP. LXXXIV.

1 *omnibus rebus*] 'in every way'.

iumentis] in 81 § 6 Caesar said that all the beasts of burden had been killed; no doubt a few were left for the necessary purposes of transport.

lignorum] the plural is regularly used in the sense of firewood.

inopia] 'through their want', ablative of efficient cause, Roby

§ 1228. Caesar usually adds a participle such as *adductus*, cp. 81 § 6 *inopia pabuli adducti.*

et id] 'and that too'.

semoto] not elsewhere in Caesar; perhaps *remoto* should be read.

2 *et...concessum est*] 'and permission was granted them in case they should be willing to confer publicly': see note on 73 § 2.

p. 44. 4 *officio*] 'for duty', 'to satisfy the claims of duty'.

paene] to be taken with *circummunitos* 'almost surrounded', not with *ut feras* 'almost like wild beasts'.

ingressu] 'from moving'.

5 *necesse habeat*] the subject is Caesar: 'that he should not feel it necessary to proceed to the extreme of punishment'.

subiectissime] the adverb *subiecte* seems not to occur elsewhere.

CHAP. LXXXV.

1 *nulli...convenisse*] 'no one in the whole army could have played this part whether of querulous lament or of pathetic appeal less suitably than you'. The sentence scarcely admits of a more literal translation.

partes] 'part', 'rôle'; cp. 17 § 3, below § 3.

miserationis] 'self-commiseration', 'appeal for compassion': in classical authors the word probably never means 'compassion', which is *misericordia;* cp. Cic. Fam. v. 12 § 5 where both words occur, clearly in different senses. Prof. Tyrrell there translates *cum quadam miseratione* 'by the pathetic charm of the scene'. Hence correct LS.

2 *se*] 'I myself', *ego ipse* in the actual words of the speaker. Caesar is amplifying and explaining the words *reliquos omnes*, and showing that he means himself, his army, and lastly the soldiers of the opposing (*illius*) army.

et...aequo] 'when both time and place were favourable'; notice that *et* does not connect this clause with the preceding, but *et...et* is 'both... and'; hence this clause is subordinate to or explanatory of the previous ablative *bona condicione* rather than coordinate with it.

ut quam...omnia] 'that there might be absolutely nothing to prejudice the chances of peace': here too a literal translation is impossible; *integerrima* 'quite fresh', 'not interfered with'; cp. the common expression *re integra* 'while the matter is still fresh', 'before anything has been done in the matter'; cp. B. G. VII. 30. Caesar of course refers to his action mentioned in 72.

exercitum suum] 'my army': Caesar refers to the magnanimous

conduct of himself and his army mentioned in 77, when he dismissed unharmed all the soldiers of Afranius whom he found in his camp, though several of his own men had been put to death by that general's orders.

de conciliandà pace] cp. 26 § 3, B. G. VII. 55.

3 *sic...constitisse*] 'thus the part played by all ranks had been one of compassion' or 'had consisted in compassion'.

indutiarum] Caesar goes too far in saying that the enemy's officers had disregarded the rights of truce; for there had been no formal cessation of hostilities when the intercourse between the two camps mentioned in 74 took place, nor was the *colloquium* a formally arranged conference, but only a spontaneous act on the part of individual soldiers.

per colloquium deceptos] 'taken in by a pretended colloquy'; *per* is often thus used of a false or pretended reason, cp. B. G. VIII. 23 *qui eum per simulationem colloquii curaret interficiendum;* so *per causam* is often used of a pretended reason as in B. G. VII. 9, cp. Draeger HS I. p. 607.

4 *eo*] this as well as *id* is the antecedent to the following *quod*.

5 *humilitate*] 'on the ground of their humiliation': ablative of 'efficient cause', Roby § 1228.

aliqua temporis opportunitate] 'any fortunate conjuncture of events'.

postulare, quibus rebus] 'make demands whereby'.

6 *neque enim*] 'neither was it for any other reason that six legions had been sent into Spain and a seventh levied there' etc. Caesar asserts that this large army was maintained in Spain solely for the purpose of being used against himself. The force originally designed for Spain consisted of four legions, Plut. Pomp. 52; to this had been added two legions drawn from Africa (Merivale II. 175, on what authority I do not know), and from the present passage (alone ?) we learn that the remaining legion had been levied in Spain itself, thus making the total of seven, as given also in 38 § 1.

tot tantasque classes paratas] this, the reading of the MSS, is rejected by most editors who think the mention of fleets out of place here. No doubt it is somewhat out of place in a speech addressed to Afranius and Petreius and referring to events in Spain, but Caesar, writing in haste and indignation, thinks of all the fleets that had been equipped against him during the last few months and adds them to his mention of the Spanish army, forgetting that Afranius and Petreius had but little to do with them. We have read in this book of the fleet that conveyed Pompey from Brundisium (27), the ships raised by Domitius (34 § 2),

those constructed by the Massilians (56), and lastly the fleet of boats ordered by Afranius to be prepared on the Ebro (61 § 4).

p. 45. *summissos*] 'sent to the front': verbs of 'sending' or 'going' compounded with *sub* often convey the idea of taking or sending assistance, cp. *subvehere, subministrare, subvenire, succurrere,* etc.; Roby § 2138.

7 *Hispanias*] the two Spanish provinces, cp. 10 § 3.

pacis] there had been no hostilities in Spain since the end of the Sertorian war in 72 B.C.

8 *in se*] 'against himself', 'with intent to injure him'; *se* is the accusative.

ut idem...obtineat] this is in part a repetition of the complaint in 13 § 1, where see note.

absens] 'absent from them' i.e. the provinces; Paul substitutes *absentem* for *alienas* in 13 § 1, where however it seems less suitable than here. Nipperdey refers to Vell. Pat. II. 48 § 1 *easque (Hispanias) per triennium absens ipse ac praesidens urbi per Afranium et Petreium consularem ac praetorium legatos suos administrabat.* It will be remembered that in the beginning of the year 49 Pompey was in the neighbourhood of Rome (*ad portas*) endeavouring to control the course of events in the city, which, as proconsul and armed with the *imperium*, he was unable to enter.

tot annis] for the ablative of duration of time cp. 46 § 1, 81 § 3; but no great reliance can be placed on the MSS where only a single letter is concerned, and perhaps in all these instances the accusative should be read.

9 *commutari*] 'were being subverted'.

ne...mittantur] this repeats the complaint made in 6 § 6. The lex Pompeia of 42 had enacted that there should be an interval of 5 years between the tenure of office as consul or praetor and the holding of a provincial governorship. The result was that there was now more uncertainty as to who should hold these appointments, and governors may often have been appointed by a senatorial clique (*per paucos*).

aetatis excusationem] 'plea of age'; the same phrase in B. G. VIII. 12.

quin...evocentur] 'to prevent men being called out'. The matter referred to is not clear; KH say 'Caesar means the *proconsules ad urbem* (5 § 3, 6 § 7) who could rightfully claim to be relieved of their *imperium* and were now obliged to take commands, as Cicero for instance, who, much against his will, was commissioned to raise troops in Campania (Cic. Att. VII. 11 § 5, VIII. 11 D. § 5, VII. 7 § 4)'. The passage

is discussed by Heller, Philologus Suppl. Band v. 1889 p. 363, who comes to the conclusion that *probati* is corrupt and that some such word as *fracti* or *debilitati* should be substituted.

10 *ut rebus...dimittant*] this refers to the vexed question of the succession to Caesar's province and of his candidature for the consulship of 48 which has been already discussed; see notes on 9. Pompey refused to comply with the senatorial decree passed in the autumn of 50 by which it was decided that Caesar's provincial administrations should end on 1 March 49, and that Pompey should also resign his command of the Spanish provinces on the same day. In consequence of Pompey's action Caesar was, as he here says, unable 'to return home and dismiss his army'.

11 *quod...non sit*] if *quod* had been equivalent to *et id*, the clause would have been a principal one and the verb would have been in the infinitive, *esse*, but the subjunctive shows that the clause is practically subordinate to the previous one and so *quod* is equivalent to *quamquam id* or something similar; cp. Roby § 1781.

12 *excederent*] representing the imperative *excedite* in direct narration.

CHAP. LXXXVI.

1 *ex ipsa significatione*] 'merely by the indications that they gave': the soldiers expressed their approval by voice and gesture.

ut, qui] the *ut* follows after *iucundum*, 'it was gratifying that those who' etc.

aliquid iusti incommodi] 'some merited penalty'.

ultro] 'without asking for it'.

praemium missionis] 'the boon of discharge'.

2 *significare*] 'to signify their desire', followed by *ut* as in B. Al. 45 § 3 *vexillo sublato, quae primae naves subsequebantur idem ut facerent, significabat.*

neque] with this clause *significare* must be mentally repeated in a slightly different sense, 'declare', 'signify their belief'.

neque...firmum] KH are probably right in saying that *neque* negatives only the word *firmum;* hence translate 'and declare that the promise might be invalid, notwithstanding any pledge that might be interposed, if it were put off to another time'.

interposita fide] for *interponere fidem* cp. B. G. v. 6. 36, B. Al. 63.

3 *res huc deducitur*] 'the final result is': cp. 62 § 1.

Varum flumen] The Var, which flows into the sea a few miles to

the west of Nice, was the eastern boundary of the province of Gallia Narbonensis.

4 *sacramentum dicere*] cp. 23 § 5, II. 28 § 2.

CHAP. LXXXVII.

p. 46. 1 *quae sint*] this clause is added as explanatory of *quod quisque... amiserit.* Caesar remembers, as it were, that he could not undertake to restore all that they had lost in war, and therefore limits his promise by the addition of these words, 'those things at least that are in the hands of his own soldiers'.

eis, qui amiserant] 'to the losers': the phrase is regarded as equivalent to a noun, hence there is no need for the subjunctive; 'a short relative clause, especially when it immediately follows a demonstrative, is often constructed independently of oratio obliqua, being regarded as a mere epithet' Kennedy L. G. § 193.

aequa facta aestimatione] 'at a fair valuation'.

2 *ad Caesarem in ius adierunt*] 'they went to Caesar to adjudicate : cp. Cic. Verr. IV. 147 *cum ad praetorem in ius adissemus.*

3 *cum stipendium...flagitarentur*] 'when Petreius and Afranius were asked for the pay', 'when the pay was demanded of Petreius' etc. The construction implies a double accusative with *flagitare* as in B. G. I. 16 *cotidie Caesar Aeduos frumentum...flagitare.*

cuius...dicerent] 'on their saying that the day for it had not yet come': *cuius* represents *cum eius*, hence the subjunctive.

4 *reliquas*] this cannot mean the remaining four of his six legions, for we learn from II. 19 § 1 that Caesar despatched two legions under Q. Cassius to *Hispania ulterior* where Varro was assuming a threatening attitude: by *reliquas* then must be meant the two that remained after the departure of Cassius. Caesar himself started southward for Corduba with 600 horsemen a day or two before Cassius.

Q. Fufium Calenum] mentioned B. G. VIII. 39. He played an active part in the civil war, and was consul with P. Vatinius for the last three months of 47. Lange Röm. Alt. III. 436.

APPENDIX ON THE TEXT.

THE chief MSS of the Bellum Civile are four in number and date probably from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They are

Ursinianus (Vatican) denoted by h (U in Bellum Gallicum),
Riccardianus (Florence) l
Thuaneus (Paris) .... a (T in Bellum Gallicum),
Vindobonensis (Vienna) .... f

A specimen page of the last is given by Émile Chatelain in his Paléographie des Classiques Latins p. 50, and another on p. 49 of a Florence MS, which I take to be the same as Riccardianus.

Other MSS occasionally referred to by editors are (i) Hauniensis primus (e of Nipperdey, H of Frigell and my editions of Bellum Gallicum), apparently a copy of Ursinianus, (ii) Leidensis primus (b of Nipperdey, L of Frigell and my ed. of B. G.), (iii) Scaligeranus (c of Nipperdey), (iv) Cuiacianus (d of Nipperdey). Of the two last only detached readings are preserved. Meusel also refers to Dresdensis primus (O).

The following is a selection of the more important or interesting variations.

(*The large numeral refers to the chapter, the small one to the section.*)

1 1 Most MSS insert *a Fabio* after *litteris* which Hoffmann and Dübner take as a corruption of *ab eo*, and suppose that the beginning of the book is lost.

2 All MSS *in civitate*, Hotoman *infinite* (see note); Dr Reid prefers *incitate* or *incitati:* might the words be a late marginal gloss meaning 'in the city', added to show that this meeting was held in Rome? cp. 6. 1 *habetur extra urbem senatus.* Scaliger and others omit them altogether. Heller prefers *invitati.*

2 1 All MSS *aderat.* Dr Reid suggests that the clause *quod...aderat* is a marginal gloss.

3 *ne qua esset;* a has *neque esset;* perhaps *ne quae esset*, but cp. 21 § 1 *ne qua...commutatio.*

correptis MSS, Nipperdey rightly *ereptis*, cp. 32 § 6 *iniuriam in eripiendis legionibus praedicat*. Caesar would not use *corripere* in this sense.

4 *rebus* MSS, *verbis* adopted by Paul is not necessary, see 8 § 4.

3 1 Pantagathus proposed to insert *promptos* before *Pompeius;* Paul inserts *audaces* after *laudat*, thus making the sentence contain two words *audax* and *segnis* not elsewhere used by Caesar.

3 *et ius comitium* MSS. Hug and Madvig, no doubt rightly, restore *ipsum* for *ius*. Nipperdey reads *militibus* for the corrupt *et ius*, Heller prefers *armis*.

tribunis centurionibus evocatis, so Oudendorp for *tr. pl. centurio evocat*.

4 3 *arbitratur* h l a f; *arbitrabatur* b, Dinter, Dübner.

adulatio atque ostentatio sui et potentium MSS; Madvig omitting *adulatio* writes *atque ostentatio sui et potentiae, qua...pollebat;* Reid suggests *potentia eorum* for *potentium*.

5 1 *intercessione* MSS: some editors omit the word: KH and E. Hoffmann retain it. The former take *extremum ius* to denote the tribunicial inviolability, and suppose Caesar's meaning to be that the tribunes were not now allowed to preserve their inviolability by the exercise of their *intercessio*, a privilege which (*quod* for *id quod*) Sulla had left them. Dr Reid proposes *legitimi* for *extremi*. Heller *intercessionis*.

2 *octo denique menses variarum actionum* MSS; Dinter inserts *post* which might easily have been absorbed by *plebis*. E. Hoffmann *ultimo denique mense suarum actionum;* Aldus, Nipperdey, Paul *octavo denique mense suarum actionum* (*octavo* is found in f); KH after Mommsen *toto denique emenso spatio suarum actionum*. Ciacconius and Dübner have *duodecimo*. No correction can be regarded as more than barely probable.

3 *salutis latorum audacia nunquam ante discessum est* MSS. Kohl's cj. *descensum* for *discessum* may be considered certain. For *latorum* Manutius and Madvig suggest *latronum*, perhaps too strong a word for the circumstances, as Nipperdey says. Paul, partly following Kindscher, reads *soluta sceleratorum audacia*, Reid *legis latorum audacia* retaining *salutis*, so too E. Hoffmann, who however makes farther needless alterations; Hug and others *senatorum*.

cons. or *consules* MSS; Pantagathus *pro consulibus;* O h l have *sunt*, but *sint* is required.

5 *levissimis* MSS; but *lenissimis* is necessary.

6 2 *aut sequantur saltem:* l has *statim*, f *statim saltim;* hence E. Hoffmann reads *sequantur, statim de reliquis* etc.

3 *habeatur* MSS; there is no need to alter this to *habeantur*, though in § 8 Caesar has *tota Italia dilectus habentur.*

4 *non passurum* MSS, but O² has *vero* which most editors adopt. Madvig and Meusel prefer *consul.* After *passurum* h has *se;* as Caesar does not elsewhere omit the reflexive pronoun after *negare*, I retain it here.

7 2 The MSS have *armis* after *annis*, probably a mere slip. Hotoman cj. *sine armis.*

4 *dona* MSS, *bona* Victorius. Dr Reid says 'perhaps *tribunis* is the right reading, *tri* having been lost by collision with *tur* and contraction, and the remainder having been misread or corrected to make sense: a subject to *habuerint* is wanted'.

5 After *ne cogitatum quidem* the MSS have *nulla lex promulgata, non cum populo agi coeptum, nulla secessio facta;* the clause is an obvious gloss, being quite out of construction with the context, and is rightly omitted by the editors.

7 *convenerant* h l f; *venerant* a b d.

8 4 *rebus* MSS, Clark cj. *verbis* adopted by all recent editors, cp. 2 § 4.

9 2 a b c have P. R. after *primam*, d apparently inserts them before *primam*, in h l f they are absent, probably absorbed by the first letters of *primam.* Paul omits them. Most editors have *rei publicae* which is more likely to be right here than *populi Romani.*

10 1 h l f have *cum Caesare*, a b c d *a Caesare;* I retain the former with the addition of the praenomen which Caesar is not likely to have omitted. So E. Hoffmann.

invenit MSS, Paul suggests *convenit* which, though possible, is not necessary.

2 *deliberata* MSS, Gruter first added *re*, which would easily drop out before *respondent.*

mandata remittunt: this is the ordinary reading, but the MSS have *permittunt*, and Paul following Hotoman reads *mandata per eosdem remittunt:* KH *per eos mittunt.*

11 2 *quem diem* MSS, Paul *quam* as more in accordance with Caesar's usage, *dies* when meaning a date being usually feminine.

peracto consulatu MSS, Paul cj. *parto*, E. Hoffmann *pacto:* Dr Reid suggests that the words may be loosely used for *peractis comitiis quibus Caesar consul factus esset* 'after Caesar's election to the consulate had been carried through'. In place of *non* after *Caesaris*,

a f l have *cons.* and h *cons. non.* The reading that I have suggested (see note) *si peractis consularibus comitiis non profectus esset*, if written compendiously (*cons. com.*), might account for the various corruptions and would give the required sense.

4 *duabus legionibus* MSS, but *legionibus* is obviously wrong. It was first omitted by Davis. Supply *cohortibus* from the previous clause.

14 1 *ad pecuniam* MSS, perhaps *et ad pecuniam*, the *et* having been absorbed by *venisset*. Paul after h l writes *ad pecuniamque*, cp. B. G. II. 11 *sub occasumque*, VII. 1 *de senatusque consulto*.

4 *productos* d h l f, *deductos* a b, Nipperdey.

spe supplied by Nipperdey.

5 *familiares* MSS, all recent editors *familias;* the mistake was originally due to an idea on the part of a copyist that *conventus* was acc. pl.

15 3 *magna parte* MSS; Scaliger first inserted *a*.

16 1 *Firmo* MSS; this is needlessly altered by most editors to *Asculo*, see note.

18 2 *legionis VIII* MSS, but the number is clearly wrong, cp. below § 5. Voss substituted *XIII*.

6 *circumvenire* MSS, but the word is scarcely defensible though retained by most editors. I read *circummunire* with Paul: see note.

a Pompeio a and most editors: *ad Pompeium* O f h l and Paul.

19 4 *obsidione atque oppidi circummunitione* MSS. Meusel would place *oppidi* after *circummunitione*, Paul after *obsidione*. I do not think any change is necessary.

20 1 *prima vesperi* h l a: *primo vespere* f.

5 *eius potestate* a f b d; *in eius potestatem* O h l: cp. B. G. II. 31 § 3 *se suaque omnia eorum potestati permittere* with B. G. II. 3 § 2 *se suaque omnia in fidem atque in potestatem populi Romani permittere*.

21 3 *iis operibus* all MSS except e which has *in;* the preposition seems necessary and is adopted by Paul, Nipperdey, KH, Dinter: cp. B. G. VII. 81 *quas in opere disposuerant*.

4 *adservent* a f; *observent* h l; either verb would do.

5 *eo* MSS, the probable correction *vero* is due to Faernus.

22 3 *de salute sua orat* MSS: *agit* was inserted after *sua* by Bentley and is adopted by most editors: but E. Hoffmann retains the MS reading with *eum* (found in f) in place of *eo*, and *veterem quoque* for *veteremque*.

5 *in eare* MSS: the words are very likely corrupt; Faernus conjectured *iniuria* which Paul adopts.

23 2 *quinquaginta ordines* MSS; the editors generally read *quinque ordinis senatorii* after Davis and Nipperdey, but E. Hoffmann retains *quinquaginta*, reading *erant quinquaginta; ordinis senatorii* etc.

L. Caecilius Spinther Rufus MSS, an evident confusion, the name *Spinther* belonging properly to *Lentulus*. We may read either *L. Caecilius Rufus*, for whom see note, or *L. Vibullius Rufus* who has been mentioned before.

3 *loquitur quod* MSS: the insertion of *queritur* after *loquitur* had occurred to myself before I saw that it had been suggested by Halbertsma and is actually adopted by Paul, who however alters *loquitur* to *locutus*. But I leave the text as it stands, not being confident that it is wrong.

4 *ab iis* (or *his*) *viris* MSS, apparently corruptions of *IIviris*. Mommsen proposes *IVviris*, but the provincial *quattuorviri* seem to have consisted of two bodies of *duoviri* one of which may have had higher powers than the other.

5 *eo die* MSS; Meusel, Dinter and Paul needlessly read *eodem die*.

25 3 *inveniri* MSS; Paul needlessly suggests *invenire*.

extremis MSS; most editors *ab extremis*, some preposition being needed: Dr Reid suggests *ex maritimis*.

6 *pedum XXX* all MSS except l which has *LXXX*.

9 *incursus* MSS; Paul thinking the word unsuitable reads *ingressus*.

26 1 *turres cum ternis tabulatis* MSS; Paul argues that the preposition cannot be thus used and so reads *quaternis*, which if written *IV ternis* might easily become *cum ternis*. I retain the traditional reading though admitting that no exact parallel to it has been produced.

opera disturbaret MSS: Paul suggests the omission of *opera*.

27 3 *oppidum irrumperent* MSS; see note.

4 *inaequat* MSS; the word is not found elsewhere and Dr Reid suggests *iniecta aequat*.

5 *sagittariis* MSS; better sense would be obtained by reading *cum sagittariis* conjectured by Koechly and Reid. Meusel prefers *sagittarios funditoresque*, assuming the words to have been changed to the ablative by the proximity of *ex evocatis*.

29 3 *veterem exercitum* MSS; there is no need for Elberling's *vetere exercitu* adopted by Paul. Caesar did not like the idea of Pompey's veteran army in Spain being confirmed by the presence of its leader without any interference on his own part.

30 2 *legionibus III* MSS; Davies altered the number to *IV*, comparing

B. C. II. 23 § 1, 37 § 4, but there the forces of Domitius are included. Curio only took two legions with him to Spain, hence read *II* with Ciacconius and most recent editors.

5 *imperatissimis* all MSS, except that l has *imperitissimus* as a correction; I agree with Meusel in thinking that *imparatissimus* should be read. The corruption is easily accounted for by assimilation to the preceding ablative.

31 3 I retain the reading of the MSS *in terra.*

32 5 *quod ab altero non postularent* h l, *alterorum postularent* a b; the variations point to the loss of some word between *altero* and *postularent.*

6 *legibus* MSS; Aldus restored *legionibus.*

33 4 *tempus mittat* all MSS except O which has *omittat;* the editors generally accept Nipperdey's *amittat:* Paul *dimittat.*

34 1 *missum a Pompeio* MSS; most editors after Aldus write *missum in Hispaniam*, cp. 38 § 1. Nipperdey refers to III. 22 § 1 from which it appears that Milo who was in exile at Massilia had received instructions from Vibullius. But this in itself would not be an argument against the words *in Hispaniam*, since a person on his way from Italy to Spain might well pass through Massilia. I prefer however to retain the reading of the MSS, on the ground that *missum*, 'had been despatched', 'had been sent on a mission', would make sufficient sense without the addition of the destination.

2 *Sigili* MSS, the *s* having adhered from *quas.*

4 *ad se vocaverant* MSS; read perhaps *evocaverant* as Paul suggests.

5 *in omnibus castellis* a f h, *ex* O (prima manu), l omits the preposition. So Paul.

35 3 *partes duas* h l f; this seems more forcible than *duas partes* the reading of a, adopted by most editors.

4 *alter bello victas Gallias* MSS; most editors adopt the conjecture of Glandorpius *victos Sallyas*, which would seem to require that the second *alter* should refer to Pompeius though he is mentioned first. Madvig proposed *alter bello victa Gallia eadem tribuerit*, which Paul adopts with the substitution of *alia attribuerit* for *eadem tribuerit.* I accept this reading in default of a better.

36 3 *urbis accidant* MSS; the editors rightly *urbis, si accidat.*

38 1 The words *tribus legionibus alter ulteriorem* do not occur in any MS but are necessary to the sense. They were first inserted by Nipperdey. The omission is easily accounted for by the similarity of the words *citeriorem* and *ulteriorem.*

3 *totius* MSS, a mistake due to *Lusitaniae* being regarded as a genitive.

39 1 The word *Hispaniae* is worse than useless after the previous *provinciae* and should no doubt be ejected as a gloss. Nipperdey goes too far, I think, in omitting the three genitives *citerioris provinciae*, *ulterioris Hispaniae*, and *utriusque provinciae*. Madvig would omit only the words *ulterioris Hispaniae*. The text of this chapter is in a sadly disordered condition.

2 *ad VI milia auxilia peditum milia* most MSS. The number VI is right as denoting the number of legions sent into Spain by Caesar; hence the words *ad* and *milia* should probably be omitted. Then a numeral seems to be lost between *peditum* and *milia;* this should probably be V, cp. Cic. Att. IX. 13 § 4. E. Hoffmann reads *praemiserat VI: ad illa* ('in addition to these') *auxilia peditum V milia.*

omnibus MSS, except d which has *quae omnibus* which is probably correct.

quam ipse pacaverat MSS, rightly I think, as Caesar uses this expression in reference to the subjugation of a country, cp. B. G. III. 28 *omni Gallia pacata*, etc. Paul writes *equitum tria milia omnibus superioribus bellis habuerat et parem ex Gallia numerum ipse paraverat nominatim* etc. E. Hoffmann *equitum tria milia, quae omnibus superioribus bellis habuerat et parem ex Gallia numerum quem ipse paraverat nominatim* etc.

huic MSS, *huc* most editors, *et hinc* ('and out of them') E. Hoffmann; others suppose some number such as CCCC (Menge) to be concealed in this word. I have thought it possible that *M* (*mille*) may have fallen out after *hominum*.

attingunt audierat MSS; one word at least seems to have fallen out after *attingunt* somewhat similar in form to *audierat*, perhaps *adiecerat* or *addiderat*. Possibly the subject of *audierat* has also been lost.

40 3 *congressae* MSS; *egressae* Iurinius rightly, cp. *correptis* for *ereptis* in 2 § 4.

proprio legiones MSS, except a, which has *proprio relegiones;* Nipperdey's restoration *propiore ponte legiones* is no doubt right. E. Hoffmann (retaining *congressae*) prefers *prope priores regiones.*

impedimentaque MSS, see note: Paul *iumentaque.*

iumentorum MSS absurdly for *vi ventorum* which is found in a Norwich MS.

4 *legiones IV* h l f, *legiones III* a b; the latter is right.

41 1 *noctu* f h l, *nocte* a; as an adverbial expression of time without any adjunct the former is more common in Caesar than the latter.

2 *reliquit* a f, *relinquit* h l: there is nothing objectionable in the sequence *reliquit*, *proficiscitur*, *constitit*, *facit*. Paul reads *relinquit* and *consistit* to secure uniformity.

4 *post hoc* MSS, by careless assimilation to *opus*.

43 1 *in oppido Ilerda et proximo colle* MSS; *inter* having been corrupted to *in*, the rest followed as a matter of course.

planicia a (?) h l; most editors after other MSS *planicies*. I agree with Meusel who says *mihi 'planicies' nullo modo ferri posse videtur*, but I cannot accept his *planitia*.

3 *in locis idoneis* MSS; Paul omits *in* as contrary to Caesar's usage.

44 2 *reliquisque barbaris genere quodam* MSS; I read with Dübner and Meusel *reliquisque barbaris barbaro genere quodam;* Dinter and KH *reliquisque barbaro*. Nipperdey and E. Hoffmann retain the reading of the MSS: for the text cp. III. 9 § 1 *Dalmatis reliquisque barbaris*.

3 *quibus quisque* MSS, *quibuscunque* Paul.

4 *censuerant oportere* MSS; as *oportere* cannot easily be constructed with *servare* and *discedere*, Paul inserts *consuerant* after *discedere*, thinking that its similarity to *censuerant* may have caused it to drop out. Nipperdey and E. Hoffmann alter *censuerant* to *consuerant*, making an almost impossible construction. I retain the reading of the MSS, adopting doubtfully the explanation given by KH: see note. I would suggest as a possible emendation the insertion of *se* before *servare* and the change of *dimitti* into *dimittere*.

45 4 *directus* MSS, but *derectus* is elsewhere the better attested form.

5 *passuum* MSS; Meusel and Paul *passus* which is likely to be right.

7 *augebantur illis copiae* O h l, the rest *augebatur illis copia* which can hardly be defended; cp. B. C. II. 41 § 7 *hostium copiae...augebantur*.

46 3 *summum iugum* MSS, except O b which have *summum in iugum: summa in iugum* Forchhammer, and most recent editors. Nipperdey *in summum iugum*.

47 2 *initio* MSS; there seems no need for Paul's *ab initio*.

48 4 *comitatus* MSS; the same corruption in 51 § 1; see too 54 § 5, B. G. VIII. 30.

5 *in hibernis* MSS; Hellebodius on the ground that this did not suit the plural *frumenta* (standing crops) altered *hibernis* to *herbis*, but the plural seems to be conditioned by the following clause, *neque multum a maturitate aberant*. I therefore with some hesitation retain the reading of the MSS. Paul reads *herbis*, KH *acervis;* other suggestions are *horreis*, *cavernis*, *tabernis* etc.

51 1 *comitatus* MSS; cp. 48 § 4.

2 *liberisque* MSS; I accept Hotoman's conjecture *libertisque;* if Caesar had written *liberis* here in the sense of 'children' I do not think he would have placed it after *servis;* on the other hand *liberis* in the sense of 'free men' would give no proper sense here, though a copyist might well substitute it for *libertis* from a vague remembrance of III. 14 § 3 *de servis liberisque omnibus*, 32 § 2 *servorum ac liberorum*, 80 § 3 *servorum ac liberorum:* for *libertis* cp. I 34 § 2 *servis libertis colonis suis.*

52 1 *his tamen omnibus annona crevit* MSS; I retain *tamen* which Paul after Hellebodius alters to *tum.* The omission of *rebus* is rare but not unexampled. Paul inserts it here.

inopia praesentis MSS: I adopt Paul's *praesenti* which would easily contract an *s* from the following *sed:* cp. § 4 *praesentem inopiam*, III. 17 § 6 *praesentis periculi atque inopiae vitandae causa.*

4 *quo* MSS; read *quod.*

tutabatur MSS; suggested corrections are *sustentabat*, *levabat*, *mitigabat.* See note.

53 2 *multarum rumore orat fingebant* a, *multa rumore fingebant* f, *multa rumor fingebat* O h l. I follow Nipperdey in reading *multa rumore affingebantur*, which is defended by B. G. VII. 1 *addunt ipsi et affingunt rumoribus Galli.* KH and Dinter after Stephanus read *multa rumor affingebat*, E. Hoffmann *multa rumore fingebantur.*

54 2 *primum* all MSS but C which has *prima;* before *levi* a f insert *ex*, h l *a*, the former is doubtless right: hence read *carinae ac prima statumina ex levi materia fiebant.* E. Hoffmann reads *carinae ac primum statumen alvei materia fiebant.*

4 *instituit* a b c, *institutum* h l f.

5 *commeatus*, here again one or two inferior MSS have *comitatus*, cp. 48 § 4.

55 1 *quam magnum* O h l, *iam magnum* a: Paul suggests *permagnum;* perhaps Caesar wrote *non ita magnum*, cp. B. G. IV. 37 *non ita magno suorum numero circumsteterunt.*

2 *centuriatis* MSS, corrected to *cetratis* by Manutius.

57 3 *et exercitati* MSS; Nipperdey needlessly omitted *et.*

4 *digressi Massiliensibus* MSS; but the preposition *a* is needed.

pastoresque indomiti MSS; no doubt a corruption of *pastoresque Domitii* (probably written *Domiti*). The correction is due to Dübner.

58 1 *excipiebant* MSS; there is no need to insert *non* as Kraner does, or to read *decipiebant.*

3 *nostri* does not occur in the MSS; if written compendiously it might easily be absorbed by the *nt* of the previous word.

neque dum etiam MSS; the phrase is rather awkward with *tum etiam* immediately following, but I see no reason to regard it as corrupt.

59 2 *longe* MSS; most editors *longo*. The ablative may be defended by B. G. IV. 10 *Rhenus...longo spatio per fines Nantuatium...citatus fertur*. Meusel retaining *longe* alters *angustius* to *angustiore* to agree with *spatio*.

3 *praeter consuetudinem omnium* MSS; as Caesar does not elsewhere add *omnium* to the phrase *praeter consuetudinem* Paul would read *omnino*, but I do not think the change is necessary.

constituerant MSS; Meusel, Paul, Dinter, *instituerant* for no valid reason.

60 2 *insequuntur* MSS; as *insequi* generally means 'hostili animo sequi', Meusel and Paul would read *sequuntur* here and *sequebatur* in II. 38 § 3; but in other writers *insequi* often means 'to follow', 'to come next', and Caesar himself uses the participle *insequens* in this sense with *annus* and *dies*. I see no reason therefore to alter the text.

61 2 *ipsi locis excedere* MSS; the addition of *his* or *iis* before or after *locis* is hardly necessary.

3 *absentis timebant* MSS, inserting *Pompei* between *manserunt* and *magnis*. All editors since Davis agree in placing the name after *absentis*.

4 *conquirere Totogesma* MSS; editors *conquirere et Octogesam;* Hotoman *conquiri* which would make the sentence more regular, but departs more widely from the reading of the MSS.

aberat XX MSS; geographical considerations require that *XXX* should be read. Numerals of this kind are of course peculiarly liable to corruption in MSS.

castraque O f, *castra* h l a, *muniuntur* all MSS. I read with Paul *castra muniuntur*, other editors *castra muniunt*.

62 1 *reduxerat rem* MSS; Caesar always *deducere rem*, hence Paul reads *deduxerat rem*. I prefer *rem deduxerat*, which if written *rē deduxerat* would easily be corrupted to *reduxerat* and then *rem* would be added, In all other passages in Caesar the noun precedes the verb.

2 *exstare et* MSS, except b which has *exstarent et*, no doubt rightly.

63 1 *castra coniungunt* h l f, *iungunt* a b; the former is read by Paul and E. Hoffmann.

3 *morari atque iter impedire* MSS; Paul, comparing B. G. VII. 40 *iter eorum moratur atque impedit*, reads *impedire iter*. The suggestion is probable, but there would be no great difficulty in mentally supplying *eos* with *morari*. If any change is needed I should prefer to transpose *atque* and *iter*.

64 1 *interrumpi* MSS; Nipperdey *irrumpi*, Forchhammer *iter interrumpi*.

2 *ferri* MSS; the editors agree in reading *inferri*.

4 *tantae magnitudini fluminis* a f, *tantae magnitudinis fluminis* O h l (with *flumini* as a correction in O): cp. *magnitudo fluminis* 50 § 1, *aquae magnitudo* 40 § 3, 50 § 2. The reading of O *tantae magnitudinis flumini* 'to a river of such size' would be equally good.

7 *arma in flumine* MSS; Nipperdey *abrepti vi fluminis*, Dübner *ablati flumine*. It is difficult to account satisfactorily for the corruption in the MSS.

8 *addito ad vadum circuitu* all MSS except c, which places *ad vadum* before *fluminis*, and so all recent editors. Forchhammer and Dübner regard the words as a marginal gloss.

65 4 *montes intra se recipiebant* MSS, Nipperdey rightly *montes intrare cupiebant*: apparently *intrare* was confused with *intra se*, then the syllable *re*, added as a correction, became attached to *cupiebant*. Aldus read *intra montes se recipiebant*.

66 1 *adaquandi causa* MSS; this may be due to a confusion between *aquandi causa* and *ad aquandum*.

67 4 *ad lucem multum per se* MSS; most editors retain this with the substitution of *at* for *ad*. The whole sentence is strangely worded, and there may be some deep-seated corruption. See my note.

6 *evincit* all MSS, but *vincit* occurs as a correction in O.

68 1 *exercitum educit* MSS; Aldus restored *ducit*: the mistake arose from the preceding *educit*.

2 *inermes* f, *inermis* a b, *inermi* h l; there is little or no authority for the form *inermus* in Caesar.

69 1 *nec necessarii* l a f, *nos nec necessarii* h; read perhaps with Morus *nostros necessarii*.

2 *consilium suum laudibus ferebant* MSS; Pluygers and Paul read *efferebant* comparing III. 87 § 1 *Pompei consilium summis laudibus efferret*: in the present passage it is possible that we should read *suum summis*.

ad iter MSS; *proficisci ad iter* is an unusual if not unexampled phrase: Paul alters the words to *ab Ilerda*. I agree with KH that no change is needed: 'having started (from the camp) for their journey'.

71 1 *id* c, *idem* h l a; Paul suggests *ipsum*.
ex omnibus partibus a f, *omnibus partibus* h l.
3 *sui timoris* MSS; Pauly's conjecture *summi* is attractive.
4 *aliquo loco* MSS: *aequo* and *alio* have been suggested, but I do not think any change is necessary.

72 5 *in montibus* 'only two inferior MSS' (Nipperdey): the preposition seems necessary, cp. 21 § 3.

73 2 *nuntiantur* MSS; Paul *nuntiatur* as more in accordance with Caesar's usage, but there is no need for the change, cp. I. 4 § 1 *Caesar enim adventare iam iamque et adesse eius equites falso nuntiabantur*.
3 *et sine timore* MSS except a which has *ut*, hence Paul is probably right in thinking that the correct reading is *incipiunt, intra munitionem ut sine timore* etc.

74 2 *deinde imperatoris fidem quaerunt* MSS; Ciacconius proposed *dein de imperatoris fide quaerunt*, and so Madvig with *deinde* for *dein*. This is accepted by Paul and Dinter. It may be remarked that there is only one instance of *dein* in Caesar, viz. 64 § 2; *deinde* is common.
5 *quos illi evocaverant* h l f, *quos evocaverant* a b; I adopt the former with Paul.

75 1 *Afranio* MSS; *Afranius* is an obvious but unnecessary conjecture.

76 4 *producat* MSS; all editors *producatur*, but the active is not certainly wrong.

77 2 *ampliores ordines* MSS; *in priores ordines* was restored by Ciacconius and is adopted by all editors.

78 1 *non nulli* MSS; *non nullam* restored by Gryphius.
dierum XXII MSS; the number is too great; I propose *XII* as more likely to have been corrupted to *XXII* than Göler's *VIII* or Dinter's *VII*.
2 *ad prandium* MSS, a curious blunder for *parandum*.

79 1 *pluresque* MSS; Paul accepts Elberling's conjecture *equitesque* and alters *subsistebant* to *sustinebant*, but perhaps no change is necessary.
3 *adversos* MSS, but *aversos* must be read.
4 *relinquebatur:* this word owing to the resemblance of its first syllable to the preceding *res* caused much confusion in the MSS; they vary between *res rei inquirebatur*, *res relinquirebantur*, *rei tum inquirebatur*.
5 *auxiliis* MSS; Madvig *auxilio* for no satisfactory reason.

80 4 *relictis legionibus* MSS; Herzog's *reliquis* adopted by Paul would

hardly be sense and is not supported by the two passages quoted in defence of it, B. G. II. 17 § 2 and IV. 24 § 1: the best correction that I have seen is *refectis* adopted by E. Hoffmann and Dinter. KH think that the word *legionibus* took the place of *impedimentis* which was then transferred to follow *praesidio*, and so read *relictis impedimentis subsequitur, praesidio paucas* etc.

81 3 *convertunt* MSS; Madvig *conferunt*, Pauly *conectunt*. No change is needed.

remedia dabantur MSS; Madvig unnecessarily *medebantur*.

5 *supplices male haberi* MSS, but b and perhaps a have *suppliciis*, which is no doubt right and is accepted by recent editors.

6 *ad id expeditiores* MSS; *id* is meaningless; I accept *iter* suggested by Manutius and adopted by Paul.

82 1 *Caesaris* MSS, Paul *Caesari*, which is very likely right.

rei quae munitionis fiebat causa (or *causa fiebat*) MSS; Forchhammer restored *reliquae:* when this had been corrupted to *rei quae*, *fiebat* was added to make some sense. Nipperdey with less probability bracketed the words *quae munitionis fiebat*.

2 *proelio diffugisse* MSS; *proelium defugisse* is required.

3 *eisdem de causis* MSS; it seems necessary to eject *de* with Paul.

spatii brevitas...ad summam victoriae MSS; Madvig *spatii brevitate ...ad summam victoria*, so too Meusel. I prefer to retain the text.

4 *hinc* MSS; though *hinc* is not elsewhere used by Caesar in this partitive sense, I prefer retaining it to reading *horum* with Paul.

83 1 *tertia* MSS; the corruption is due to the preceding *acies*.

3 The MSS omit *ne*, and h l insert *non* before *committeret;* it is more likely that *ne* was absorbed by *nisi* than that it was omitted or corrupted into *non* before *committeret*. I therefore follow Nipperdey and other recent editors rather than Paul.

tamen MSS; the editors alter this to *tum;* the two words are often confused in MSS, yet I cannot see the need for change here. The idea is 'though each seemed to attain his object, yet the affair drags on and in reality neither side gains any advantage'.

84 4 *feminas* MSS, a strange blunder for *feras*.

5 *necesse habeant* O a f, *necesse habeat* h l, rightly I think. So Paul after Madvig.

85 2 *se* omitted in MSS, rightly supplied by Aldus: the omission led to the false reading *noluerint* for *noluerit*.

5 *humanitate* MSS; *humilitate* restored by Aldus.

6 *neque tot tantasque classes paratas* MSS; the editors generally regard

this passage as corrupt, but see note. Nipperdey proposes *neque tot tantaque auxilia parata*, Paul reads *neque equitatus peditatusque tanta auxilia parata*, too wide a departure from the MSS.

8 *praesidia* MSS: Aldus restored *praesideat*.

tot annos O h l, *tot annis* a f; either would be correct, cp. B. C. III. 59 § 1 *qui principatum in civitate multis annis* (all MSS) *obtinuerat*, B. G. I. 3 *regnum in Sequanis multos annos obtinuerat*.

9 *ut semper fit per paucos* MSS; Aldus altered *fit* to *sed*, and recent editors follow him; perhaps we should read *ut semper fit*, *sed* etc.

etiam omitted in h l f.

quod MSS, *quom* Nipperdey, *quin* Madvig, Paul, KH.

12 *sed si id sit factum* MSS; *sed* is of course wrong, it was perhaps originally a corruption of *si id*.

86 4 *sacramentum* all MSS except h l which have *sacramento;* this may be right, but cp. 23 § 5 where all MSS have *sacramentum*, and II. 28 § 2 *sacramenti quod...dixissent*.

87 1 *quid* MSS, *quod* Nipperdey and most editors.

qui amiserant MSS, except f which has *amiserint:* the indicative is not incorrect.

restituat MSS: Stephanus restored *restituatur*.

2 *intus* MSS, except b which has *iustius:* Guilelmus restored *in ius*.

3 *flagitaretur* MSS, Dinter; Aldus and other editors *flagitarentur*.

postulatum est MSS, except a which omits *est*, and 'two inferior MSS' which have *postulant*. Dinter reads *postularunt*, which is necessary to the sense if *flagitaretur* be read; with *flagitarentur* we may retain *postulatum est*.

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